HOW COLOMBIAN CHILDREN FEEL AND THINK WHEN HAVING A CONFLICT WITH A FRIEND: A STUDY WITHIN A PEACE EDUCATION FRAMEWORK

Thesis

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ABSTRACT

The problem of interpersonal aggression between children exposed to violent contexts motivated this study of children's thoughts and feelings in conflict situations with a friend. Children comprising 1235 from primary and secondary schools in Colombia answered a questionnaire providing a 'snapshot' of their peacefulness in regards to their experience, attitude and behavior. Questionnaire responses showed an overall strong peaceful tendency. In the focus group sessions, 118 children discussed a dilemma sharing about their thoughts and feelings during a conflict with a friend. Data themes that emerged were related to the value of friendship, dialogue and forgiveness as key relationship restoration process, difficult emotions during conflict, and conviction that friends should be able to solve conflicts. Responding violently to provocations was unanimously justified, even among the children with highly advanced perspective taking abilities. A dissonance between reason and behavior is therefore here suggested, which in part could be explained by the common acceptance of violent conflict solving strategies in Colombia. The children evaluated the focus groups sessions and valued the opportunity to reflect on and express their feelings concerning conflicts with friends, they also acknowledged new learnings about practical conflict handling. Finally, it is here argued that to be informed and genuinely interested on children's thoughts and feelings is crucial for peace education initiatives aiming to reduction of interpersonal violence. Moreover using a respectful and unprejudiced dialogical stance in interactions with children so that they feel recognition while reasoning about and explaining their thoughts and actions when discussing their conflicts is equally vital for effective research.

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Above all to God the glory!

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

The current study aims to explore children's reasoning and feelings about conflict between friends with the overarching ambition to contribute to peace education research and practice. Here, the emphasis is on exploring children's inner world and the way they externalize their thoughts and feelings by listening to what matters to them and their use of competencies for conflict handling including negotiation strategies. The theoretical foundation of this investigation comprises perspective taking, negotiation and peace education research. The empirical part of the study entails both quantitative and qualitative approaches. This investigation was carried out with children in primary and secondary schools living in the cities of Cucuta and Bogota in Colombia, a country plagued with structural and inter-personal violence, but also a greenhouse for a wide variety of peace education initiatives.

1.1. THE COLOMBIAN CONFLICT AND THE COLOMBIAN CHILDREN

Colombia has for a long time counted as one of the most violent countries in the world and for 50 years has suffered from one of the longest internal conflicts worldwide. The long and traumatic history of the conflict in Colombia has aggravated the situation for many of the groups already marginalized in a society with great inequality, especially in rural areas. The dire circumstances have contributed to human rights abuses and a widespread displacement of internal refugees in addition to the many killed.

The statistics describing the Colombian conflict reveal a very gloomy picture. By 2016 the protracted armed conflict had forcibly displaced more than 6.8 million Colombians, generating the world's second largest population of internally displaced persons (IDPs) after Syria according to Human Rights Watch Report (2012). These people were forced out of their homes and properties and the children are usually the ones suffering the most. More than half of the internally displaced people in Colombia are under 18 years old, rendering them even more vulnerable to the threats that caused them to flee from their homes in the first place (Watchlist 2012). The Colombian conflict has impacted girls and boys making them subject to rape, other sexual violence, killing and maiming. In addition, armed attacks against schools have caused numerous casualties. Colombia is also one of the countries with the largest numbers of underage combatants in the world, with more than 11,000 child soldiers according to a report (Human Rights Watch 2012). Children under twelve are known to be trained to use assault rifles, grenades and mortars. Various illegal armed forces take advantage of exposed children living under vulnerable circumstances including street children. Many children are attracted to recruiters hoping these will provide food or physical protection. The children may desire to escape from domestic violence or believe promises of money from the recruiters. Only a minority joins under coercion or fear. Other children suffer social persecution in a form of 'social cleansing' by various criminal groups (Inter-American commission on Human Rights). Deficiency in constructive conflict management competencies at grass root level creates even more space to escalation of violence in a society already plagued with human suffering and in

the long rung development may be severely hamstrung. The Colombian society constitutes a well-known example of this phenomenon unfortunately.

Understanding the historical colonization process of Colombia is fundamental for grasping the conflict. Colombia has undergone a gradual state-building process, in which the staggered and often conflictive incorporation of territories and populations resulted in an uneven state presence. In the periphery, organization of social relations was left to local elites and the state lacked the monopoly on justice and the legitimate use of force. Moreover, in contrast to other Latin American countries, Colombia failed to implement agrarian reform to redistribute land ownership, which has led to grave inequalities between different rural groups. The penetration of drug trafficking in Colombia has promoted corruption and thereby weakened the legitimacy of the political class. In this context, the conflict ceased to have an exclusively political rationale and instead combined political and military objectives with economic and social goals, individual initiatives with collective actions, and struggles at a national level with regional and local conflicts.

In the relative absence of the state violence has as a result permeated the fabric of Colombian society, becoming the mechanism for the resolution of collective and private conflicts down to the interpersonal level. In 2015 the largest cause for homicides was interpersonal violence (47.71%) whereas socio-political violence constituted a smaller proportion (14.40%) (Forensis 2015). The lack of non-violent conflict resolution strategies among the general population contributes to propagating violence as automatic response to conflicts, where the young generation is particularly vulnerable to suffer domestic violence, peer violence, organized crime and recruitment to guerrilla groups. However during the finalization of this research important breakthroughs have been achieved at the political level and in 2016 the government stated: After more than 50 years in armed conflict a peace agreement has been signed by the Colombian Government and the main guerrilla group FARC. Providing conducive settings for series of dialogues between the parties paved the way for reaching an agreement. The peace treaty represents an important example of conflict resolution at the political level and the instrumental role of dialogue and negotiations. The hopes attached to this peace agreement include restoration of displaced groups and rehabilitation of adult and under-age combatants belonging to the guerrilla and improved conditions for further economic development particularly focusing the disfavoured populations. Moreover, many cherish the hope that reduction of exposure to violence could influence the new generation of Colombians to develop a more peaceful worldview.

Peace is vital for children's subsistence and fundamental for their development is to live in peaceful environments while enjoying protection. It is also very important that their right to partake as members of society is acknowledged (Fountain 1999). Therefore, from a rights perspective violence and armed conflict constitute significant obstacles to the fulfilment of children's rights. It is clear that children in Colombia both directly and indirectly have been denied their right to live in secure and in peaceful environments for more than 50 years. At

the micro-level one approach to contribute to the breaking of this vicious spiral of violence in Colombia is education and training in activities promoting competencies for interpersonal understanding. These interventions are needed to equip children with constructive non-violent methods to resolve conflicts in their everyday life, which in the long-run can positively affect abilities of local communities to create sustainable peace at the grass root level and collaborate on important development issues.

The question remains however how peace building at macro scale can translate to the community and interpersonal levels in terms of peaceful conflict management including the children. It is here held that targeted interventions including peace education programs are needed to complement efforts for peace at national level. Peace education aims for the peaceful resolution of for instance interpersonal conflict and prevention of violence at the interpersonal level (Fountain 1999), which is the level of conflict addressed in the current study. The political and grass root levels of peace building are complementing each other and may longitudinally develop interdependencies. And with a nation-wide peace agreement there are increased expectations that peace education investments are really worthwhile also long-term. Peace education therefore becomes a pillar for the promotion of standards that benefit children and the values comprised in non-violent conflict handling and prosocial negotiated outcomes for peace building.

1.2. REFLECTION ON THE BACKGROUND AND VALUE OF THE CURRENT STUDY

The research presented in this work is to a great extend motivated by my upbringing in Colombia. The high levels of political violence occurring during the 1980s and 1990s have affected generations of Colombians. I realize from my own experience that I had socialized in violence in the sense that I believed that violence is common and normal in society. After I had left my home country I experienced what it means to live in a non-violent context.

In 2003 I visited various countries including South Africa and Palestine to evaluate development work and its impact in communities located in areas afflicted by different types of violent conflict and with different historical background. In 2004 while in the Sudan, I was more directly confronted with violence hearing women's stories of terrible abuse and violations. I also observed the suffering of many children in poverty whose families were afflicted by the war and heard about how children were being taken from juvenile prisons to be enlisted for military service by different armed groups. I then realized that I wanted to do something for building peace. In the Sudan I saw many peace interventions that were ineffective because the needs of the locals were assumed by the aid workers but not confirmed by direct inquiries in dialogue with the local target communities. Moreover, in various visits to my home country Colombia I came in contact with a handful of former child soldiers who were in process of re-integration as adults. I was also introduced to children who had been the internally displaced in Colombia as a result of the war and lived in extreme

poverty. My attempts to conduct focus group sessions with them were futile as these children refused to discuss in the group about inter-personal conflicts due to lack of trust in the other participants. The only thing they the shared about was their disappointment with the lack of continuity in teaching provided at school.

Finally, a personal observation is that inter-personal conflicts between Colombians are commonly solved using violence, an observation confirmed by Forensis (2015, see statistics above). These eye-opening experiences in different countries concerning violence and armed conflict strongly motivated me to engage in peace education research and the first steps was to gain understanding about interpersonal conflicts among children. The current thesis is a first result of this pursuit. As a future second step, I wanted to explore ways of equipping and enabling children in peaceful conflict solving so that peaceful tendencies could begin cascading to other layers of society. Further, closely linked to this goal would be to engage educators and peace educators together in deep reflection and exchange on their own role in peace pedagogy. After this brief account of my experiences of conflict and violence at structural and inter-personal levels and the research ambitions that these encounters inspired, the following section will describe the underlying aim and rationale behind the study.

1.3. AIM AND RATIONALE BEHIND THE STUDY

The rationale for choosing the interpersonal conflict topic is twofold: first, understanding interpersonal conflict is essential for comprehending interpersonal violence and the prevention thereof; and second, interpersonal conflicts bring to light important factors regulating the fostering and disruption of interpersonal relationships (Selman 1980).

With the conviction that behavioural patterns are established early in life the study aimed to listen to children's views about conflict. Thus, to learn about children's views concerning interpersonal conflict made clear that the main point is not about whether the Colombian children are peaceful or violent, neither about how we adults, educators, peace educators etc., as quickly as possible can 'fix' the problem of violence among children. That would be a rather superficial, reactive approach and most likely with very short term effects. The way forward is paradoxically to slow down rather, and listen to how the children think and feel about their conflicts with the purpose of giving them a voice with the purpose identify some leitmotifs embedded in their disputes.

The friendship relationship was regarded most relevant for discussing conflict resolution necessary for maintenance of this type of relationship. Further, friendship relationships are considered highly relevant for children's social development and school success (Raver & Zigker 1977). Thus, this first step engaging in research on interpersonal conflict it was decided to focus on exploring conflicts within the friendship domain.

In addition, a priority was to explore how children perceive emotions and perspectives of others. For achieving this ambition, the current research has therefore been conducted assuming a listening disposition to give the participating Colombian children a voice throughout the study. Insights from the investigation can enable improved judgements, more proficiently engage in their realities, begin to see through their eyes in a more respectful, realistic and insightful manner. Here, a better understanding on how a conflict emerges, how the children reason, perceive and what strategies they apply to the conflict. Moreover, how they engage emotionally, how a dialogue is developed, and how the conflict is resolved were also regarded important topics.

A major motivating force behind this study was to find ways to contribute to peace education interventions with children and particularly in contexts of violent conflict, which I strongly believe hold great promise to promote interpersonal conflict handling that is negotiated pro-socially and peacefully. Moreover individuals who participate in peace education initiatives that promote prosocial relations are more likely to become peaceful actors in society in the long run (Salomon 2004). Particular in this investigation is the central focus on children as actors and participants giving voice to their opinions as they create own meaning through reflection and ventilation of their thoughts and feelings manifested during conflict and through the process of resolution.

With this description of how the main objectives behind this study have been identified, the research question can now be framed: 'How children think and feel about conflict within the friendship domain using a peace education framework' through an empirical field study involving school children in Colombia.

1.4. THEORETICAL FRAME

Interpersonal conflicts between children are the focus of this investigation to a great extent taking cognitive-developmental approaches. The aim is to explore children's thoughts and their emotions when engaged in a conflict within a friendship relationship. It is here held that research on conflict among children is useful in revealing aspects of the inner world encompassing reasoning and emotions of individual children, which may also provide information on the social capabilities of children in particular in friendship relations as argued by Selman (1980). The influence of the friendship relationship in regards to conflict handling is therefore also taken into account.

From a wider perspective it should here be mentioned that interpersonal conflict is central to most key theories of human development (Shantz 1987) and constitute a social phenomenon omnipresent in any societal setting including schools (Opotow 1991). Indeed, conflict is a manifest component of interpersonal relationships which permeates the worlds of children in any classroom and playground. The school children who participated in this investigation are

no exemption. Coser argued that "[f]ar from being only a negative factor which tears apart social conflict may fulfil a number of determinate functions in groups and other interpersonal relations" (1956:10). Coser continues "Conflict is not always dysfunctional for the relationship within which it occurs; often is necessary to maintain such a relationship. Without ways to vent hostility toward the other, and to express dissent, group members might feel completely crushed and might react by withdrawal. By setting free pent-up feelings of hostility, conflicts serve to maintain a relationship" (1956:479). Conflicts may thus play a positive role in the social development of children (Selman 1980, Hartup 1996) and their learning (Schmuck & Runkel 1985) because they channel disagreements and strains that require competencies for handling the problem and balancing a non-violent and mutually agreed outcome for both younger and older children.

In agreement with the scholarly views mentioned above the current investigation was carried out with the understanding that conflicts are normal phenomena in interpersonal relationships. Moreover, the fact that handling interpersonal conflicts requires a number of competencies implies that conflicts may contain opportunities for genuine learning experiences that in turn could advance abilities to maintain friendship relationships. Here it is important to add that among the myriad of conflict types many arise from such unwholesome motives that a mutually satisfactory reconciliation is not possible. Here basic attitudes have often been directed in an anti-social direction, resulting in patterns including manipulation, bullying and domineering, which needs to be addressed before a real solution to the conflict can be attained.

Peace education was chosen as the main perspective and interpretative lens used for this investigation. Here peace education is understood in a general sense as teaching about reduction of violence (Ardizzone 2003). In this field much have been written about pro-social behaviour, conflict resolution, anger management aiming to reduce violence and promote peaceful non-violent conflict handling in different situations including peer-peer settings among children (Johnson & Johnson 2005, Harris & Morrison 2012). In the current study the subject of negotiation skills is brought into the forefront to address non-violent conflict solving strategies between school children. It is here held that the topic of negotiation competencies adds valuable contributions through providing insights to non-violent modes of conflict solving. This entails more specifically replacing physicalistic interactions, including violence, in conflictive episodes with the use of symbols and language as in negotiation processes – ideally in a cooperative setting. The hypothesis behind the current investigation in the Colombian setting is that the majority of children had been exposed to expressions of a violent culture partly derived from the long-term political violence and therefore the children would demonstrate violent tendencies (Sousa et al. 2013, Garbarino 1991, Sidel 2008, Başoğlu 2005) and that physical aggression as a conflict resolution strategy would be overrepresented in the sample given the hostility of the environment, in agreement with Selman and colleagues (1980, 1988) as well as Garbarino & Kostelny (1996).

At a more fundamental level negotiation can be regarded a basic human practice and it is a type of conflict resolution (Deutsch 2014, Johnson & Johnson 2004). Everyone has desires and needs and in order to satisfy these one needs to negotiate. It is claimed by Killen and Nucci that how a conflict is solved gives an indication of the moral development of a child, which implies the use of negotiation in social problematic exchanges (in Hart & Killen 1995). It is here therefore argued that a conflict taking a negotiated approach to be solved is not only pro-social but stimulates autonomy in contrast to many other types of conflict resolution, i.e. mediation. According to the literature the actual abilities associated with negotiation competences include but are not limited to management of emotions, listening skills, empathy, communication skills and perspective taking (Harris 2004, Selman 1980, Stevahn 2004). As the current investigation focusses children's capacity to take perspective while having a conflict and during the process of conflict solving it is important to point out that the examples of negotiation competencies are in one way or another contingent on developmental parameters. In the current study, the focus has been set on development of interpersonal perspective taking competencies, which is the child's understanding of how the points of view between self and others are coordinated. Upon the perspective taking abilities the interpersonal negotiation strategies are built as described by Yeates & Selman (1989). In Selman's own words: "We have no choice but to try to learn how our children become socially wise, to provide opportunities for them to do so, and to try to understand through both 'educational' and 'naturalistic' research how this ethical and interpersonal wisdom can best be put into practice" (1980:311). The specific social configuration chosen for the current study is that of friendship between peers. The reason is that for children making a friend or losing a friend are emotionally engaging experiences and friendships between children can serve as a good model in a society to learn appreciation of equal legitimate needs, to value friendship as something to be attached to or reject when misconduct precludes maintenance of the relationship.

In sum, the intended contribution of this study is to bring together aspects from the wealth of knowledge in the areas of peace education, negotiation competences and perspective taking development and use these insights when exploring what children think and feel about conflicts in the friendship domain.

Thus the four conceptual cornerstones in the current investigation are the following:

- Children's emotions – anger management and empathy, a precondition for negotiation
- Children's cognition – reasoning about and understanding the conflict, a precondition for negotiation
- Children's interpersonal understanding – relating to others, a precondition for negotiation
- Children's friendship relationship – a symmetric interpersonal construct for interactions between peers

1.5. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

From a research perspective, exploring conflict by listening to the children as they share about their emotions and thoughts adds to the body of scientific knowledge in terms of understanding deeper aspects that are not discernible through observing external behaviour only. This approach starts on the inside of the child and proceeds towards the outer manifestations in their behaviour. To gain understanding about what children think and feel when experiencing a conflict with a friend it is considered necessary to take a dialogical approach by giving children a voice. That means asking the children about their challenges, whose inner world might be amorphous, struggling and even contradictory. By listening to the children to understand why they behave in a hostile or in any other certain way requires that the researcher as much as possible refrains from applying a chosen lens that could sieve or distort the information transmitted by the children but instead an equal, symmetric and respectful attitude is proposed and applied in this study. Teaching, researching and/or promoting peace education calls for a deeper and more comprehensive approach to fathom how children think and feel when they have conflicts with their friends. Most people would intuitively agree with this proposition but this angle has to our best understanding not been extensively used and this knowledge gap the current investigation aspires to begin filling. Thematic approach to the data provides structure to the children's statements and can be used for further in depth studies.

From an interventional perspective normal school education programs that teach peace education are often concerned with external behaviour and with the best intentions often impose social competencies through learning activities or even perpetrate indirect violence (Harber & Sakade 2009). A disposition from the educator and peace education practitioner to listen and get to know the child is required in a greater measured neither is time taken to let children share the deep thoughts and feelings they experience during episodes of conflict including those situations where aggressive and violent behaviour is displayed (Direct observation from the researcher in some Colombian schools). An ambition of this study is that insights about children's own thoughts and feelings could inform peace education practitioners how to better device interventions having children's experience and views as key reference points.

Concerning competencies and strategies for conflict handling the aim is to contribute by discussing negotiation as a conflict resolution modality relevant for children and closely related to perspective taking as a tool for pro-social interactions. Schools and research have mainly focused on mediation as a main type of conflict resolution among children but negotiation has not been developed as a viable alternative in peace education research perhaps because it has traditionally been associated with professional contexts. However, Killen and Nucci argue that conflicts between children have a role to play in moral development and the way a conflict is solved indicates the level of moral development at hand. Here, the authors suggest that conflict resolutions involving concession from both

parties, as in a negotiation, promote moral development and self-efficacy more than for instance mediation or retribution (in Hart & Killen 1995). It is here held that negotiation as an interaction is close to children's reality and can be very practicable as empowering experiences for children finding agreeable solutions without needing external interventions.

1.6. VALUES

The assumptions and ambitions of the current study have not included the vast area of values despite the fact that human behaviour including interpersonal conflict to a substantial degree can be explained by values (Schwartz 1994). Conflicts may arise as a consequence of opposing interests which in turn reflect what the parties regard as valuable and important to them. Consequently, handling conflicts effectively requires awareness of other interests and values than one's own. Although the prolific research on values is not reviewed in the current work, a short introductory note is warranted on this topic.

As has been described in numerous studies already very young children undergo moral imprinting: "Children begin to learn values very early on in life, initially from their families, but also from the media, peers, playgroups, caretakers, their local community and other agencies. There is evidence that children probably develop a moral sense within the first two years of life and this is closely linked with their emotional and social development (Arsenio & Lemerise 2001:64). Some researchers accredit considerable weight to values - even more so than to reasoning. Sutton et al. suggest that for proactively aggressive children, the specific form of social incompetence ''may lie in the values of the bully rather than the accuracy of the cognitions'' (1999:122). Others include a cognitive element that modulates adherence to moral values. One example is found in the concept of 'moral disengagement' denoting conscious deviations from accepted norms of behaviour: "Starting from early age, individuals who morally disengage may perceive some types of antisocial behaviour as reasonable or justified, at least under some circumstances, even if they have internalized moral rules that prohibit such behaviour. Indeed, research has shown that children and youth who endorse these mechanisms are more likely to engage in both general aggression and peer bullying" (Gini et al. 2014). The background to children's moral disengagement indeed appears to involve reasoning and judgement, something that the children in the current study confirm in their testimonies (see Results section).

In peace education interventions values are often given a prominent place and projected as very important. To effectively convey the importance of values requires however understanding of the underlying mechanisms for children to stray from behaviour that they otherwise subscribe to, including their inner motives, emotions and levels of cognition. In the current work the focus is on deeper currents in children's minds in the belief that these parameters do retain sufficient explanatory power also when discussed without a direct connection to values. Including the dimension of values would be expanding the theoretical framework beyond what is deemed justifiable in this study.

1.7. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The following section describes the various chapters covering this investigation. After the Introduction Chapter a theoretical section comprising three chapters follows: peace education, negotiation and interpersonal understanding. The following fifth chapter describes the empirical study including the methodology and the quantitative and qualitative results. Chapter six covers the discussion, the seventh chapter contains pedagogical insights from children's evaluations of the focus groups, and chapter eight presents the conclusions. Finally, the ninth chapter concludes the thesis with notions and suggestions for future studies.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introducing the background to this study on children's perceptions and feelings about conflicts between friends commences with a short description of the socio-political situation in Colombia. A subsequent overview of the theoretical landscape is discussed by looking at interpersonal conflicts between children constituting a centre piece of this investigation. Following a personal reflection on the background and motivation of the scientific contribution this work aims to achieve is presented. Finally, the values steering the conduct of this research are discussed before the various sections forming this thesis are outlined.

CHAPTER TWO: PEACE EDUCATION

Peace education is the framework of this thesis as it seeks to educate in non-violent conflict handling consequently the major features of this field will be delineated. The peace education chapter begins presenting a background and definitions from the fields of education research and peace studies. The multifaceted peace education enterprise and its characteristics are subsequently described. The history of early peace education or 'proto-peace education' initiatives is introduced followed by a discussion on examples of current research trends in peace education. Next, theoretical conceptions of peace education are examined, followed by the examples of disciplines contributing to peace education studies. Finally a section on conflict resolution rounds off this chapter constituting a central aim of the peace education discourse and practice.

CHAPTER THREE: NEGOTIATION

The topic of negotiation research and practice is introduced based on its relevance for handling conflict non-violently and this field therefore contains connections and even overlapping aspects with peace education. This chapter first introduces the field of negotiation. The second section presents definitions of the concept of negotiation and provides an overview of the development of negotiation research. Third, some disciplines that have emerged within this field are described. Fourth, the theoretical context of negotiation research is examined, including a number of theoretical negotiation models of research contained in the normative and descriptive traditions. Fifth, relevant for this investigation are the strategies of the negotiation process itself such as the integrative and

distributive, which are subsequently described. Sixth, the negotiation process is discussed from a sequential perspective, including negotiation phase models. Seventh, negotiation styles and skills that are highly relevant for the negotiator in order to achieve productive agreements are discussed, followed by the eighth and final section summarizing the negotiation chapter**.**

CHAPTER FOUR: INTERPERSONAL UNDERSTANDING

The growth of interpersonal understanding will be a major red thread in this work with emphasis on perspective taking and interpersonal negotiation strategies, which rests on the interpersonal perspective coordination framework. First an introduction explains the aim of this chapter, which is to discuss Robert Selman's contributions on interpersonal perspective taking and coordination with their application to interpersonal negotiation competences. Second, a preamble outlines two main theoretical contributors and harbingers: Jean Piaget on the stage model of cognitive development, followed by Lawrence Kohlberg, pioneer in the development of moral reasoning stages, upon whom Selman has constructed his theory on the development of interpersonal understanding. Third, Selman's and co-workers models describing stage-wise development of interpersonal understanding are described. The key concept of interpersonal perspective taking (IPT) and the levels as well as the overarching characteristics of the model, including the social domains to which the model is applied are explained. Thereafter Selman's co-workers second model pertinent to this study, the interpersonal negotiation strategies (INS) model, is described with its associations between levels of interpersonal thought and interpersonal action. This model dissects how two children interrelate throughout a negotiation process.

CHAPTER FIVE: EMPIRICAL STUDY

The empirical chapter consists of two main parts: The methodological and the results sections. The methodological section is introduced by explaining the main hypotheses underlying the empirical work and the subsequent choice of the convergent parallel mixed methods strategy containing qualitative and quantitative approaches. The methodologies used for the qualitative focus group study are described involving study organization, selection of participants, execution of focus group sessions, and thematic analysis of citations from focus group participants. In addition, the procedures for scoring children's citations using models for interpersonal perspective taking (IPT) and interpersonal negotiation strategies (INS) are presented. The following section outlines the methodologies used for the quantitative questionnaire-based study involving questionnaire methodology, selection of participants and the transforming procedure to generate quantitized INS and IPT data from the qualitative focus group material. The methodological approaches used for the exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses are integrated in the results part showing the step-by-step

procedure leading to the identification of the factors. Finally, the methods used for response frequency analysis of individually assessed questionnaire statements are described.

After the methodology sections the results from the quantitative questionnaire-based study are described with demographic comparisons using the IPT and INS scoring results. Further, the process leading to identification of the factors from the questionnaire material and a description of these factors are presented. Finally, the outcome of the response frequency analysis of individually assessed questionnaire statements with demographic comparisons described. The results of the focus group-based study consist of the main themes identified and the structure that these themes together assemble underpinning an overarching theme.

Finally, a discussion on methodological limitations of the qualitative and quantitative approaches used round off the empirical chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

The discussion chapter contains elaboration on the results of the focus groups results as well as the results of the questionnaire study. Aiming to draw relevant insights that contribute to answer the current research question the results are discussed in two main parts as follows: First, the quantitative study is discussed including data derived from questionnaires as well as the results on Interpersonal Perspective Taking (IPT) and Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies (INS). Subsequent demographic comparisons are examined and finally the overall peace tendency suggested by the data is discussed. Second, the results from the qualitative study provided by the children in the focus groups are examined with emphasis on the resulting overarching theme 'Friends Should Be Able to Solve Conflicts'. Other main discussion points include: The asset of friendship, quarrelling perceived as normal, conflicts promote social development, handling emotions in conflict, dialogue in handling conflict and forgiveness. Finally, the findings are elaborated within the frame of peace education.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PEDAGOGICAL INSIGHTS

In addition to the discussion on the theme of conflict in the friendship domain the children were given opportunity at the end of the focus group discussions to verbally evaluate the sessions and the facilitation by the investigator. These evaluations were not initially planned but were implemented for all sessions during the course of the field study. This chapter begins with an introduction presenting the aim of the chapter. The subsequent section describes how this material was analysed separately in order to gain insights into the research methodology and its validity. Also limitations and challenges are explained. The outcome of the study sheds light on how the children valued talking, listening and reflecting, and on the relevance for the children of the topic of conflict in friendship. Further, the facilitating role of the investigator is discussed followed by the value of the sessions as expressed by the children and their desire for more activities of this kind. This chapter continues with therapeutic

implications of focus group sessions and the main themes brought up by the children. Pedagogical lessons and their relevance for peace education are finally discussed.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

This chapter presents a summary of the main findings in the light of the main question 'How children think and feel about conflict within the friendship domain using a peace education framework'. Subsequently the value of friendship and its relevance for peace education is considered. Finally the significance of negotiation capabilities for peace education is discussed.

CHAPTER NINE: FORWARD LOOKING

The qualitative and quantitative data collected in the current study invites further exploration. In addition, the results here obtained have incited new questions. Consequently this section contains suggestions for both further queries based on existing data base as well as for empirical follow-up investigations.

With this overview of the thesis contents, the discussion will now continue with presenting the fields of Peace Education research and practice in Chapter 2 below.

CHAPTER TWO: INTRODUCTION TO PEACE EDUCATION RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

2. PEACE EDUCATION RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

2.1. INTRODUCTION

If we have no peace, it is because we have forgotten that we belong to each other.

—Mother Teresa (Grace 2009:103)

Mother Teresa has stated that the cause of war and violence is that we have detached from each other. And as Levinas expressed it (1986): "The heteronomy of our response to the human other, or to God as the absolute other, precedes the autonomy of our subjective freedom. As soon as I acknowledge that it is 'I' who am responsible, I accept that my freedom is anteceded by an obligation to the other" (quoted by Martin in Egea-Kuehne 2008:263). The ambition in this chapter is to outline the multifaceted peace education research field. The initial notions above will lead to a key topic within peace education, namely the interpersonal aspect, but the potential relevance to peace also at a grander scale will be considered. The introduction to peace education below will explain key concepts of the areas of education and peace research, followed by peace education characteristics, origin and development, philosophy, disciplines contributing to peace education, and conflict resolution.

A couple of historic examples of conflict resolution will serve as illustrations. Martin Luther King proclaimed "I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word" (The Nobel Foundation, 1964, para. 5–6). History proved King right in both achieving conflict resolution as well as in choice of peaceful means. King's contemporary, Nelson Mandela on the other hand was initially wrong. Violence did not bring conflict resolution, but instead peaceful noncompromising perseverance together with collaboration as written in the Introduction chapter of Mandela's book: "To make peace with an enemy, one must work with that enemy, and that enemy becomes your partner" (Mandela 2013). Thus, peace observed by many as a utopia and still lived-out authentically by those following the examples mentioned above, constitute a core nexus of the peace education process which cherishes the ambition to be a transforming agent in today's society.

The ambition in this chapter is to outline the multifaceted peace education research field. First, it is explain key concepts of the areas of education and peace research, followed by peace education characteristics, origin and development. Fourth, origin and history of peace education. Fifth, a discussion around the philosophy of peace education is presented. Sixth, some disciplines that could play a role in peace education have been considered and finally a brief look at the conflict resolution field as it is central to peace education, an emphasis is given to children and conflict.

2.2. BACKGROUND

Peace education obviously is a composite of two concepts, peace and education, which constitute very different disciplines. We will here begin dissecting peace education by looking into the following compartments: a brief touch on education, the vast peace concept and finally definitions of peace education as such.

2.2.1. PEACE EDUCATION DEFINITION

Tracing the roots of the word 'educate' we find the word educare in Latin, meaning 'to rear', 'to educate', related to Latin 'ducere', meaning 'to lead'[1]. Riccio points out the link to the Latin word form 'educo' or the 'drawing out', which according to Riccio "perfectly suits the purpose of education from the perspective that every individual has unique innate abilities to be unlocked and developed" (Riccio, 2014:5). Educational philosophy pioneer John Dewey affirmed that, "education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform" (2004:23). He also commented on the fundamental conceptual dichotomy between innate talent and cultivation of new skills: "The history of educational theory is marked by opposition between the idea that education is development from within and that it is formulation from without; that it is based upon natural endowments and that education is a process of overcoming natural inclination and substituting in its place habits acquired under external pressure" (1986:242). Dewey's notion clearly encompasses educational aspects in wider sense than mere assimilation of knowledge, verging into the area of discipline. To the concept 'unlock one's potential' can to some extent bridge the bifurcated ideas 'from within' and 'from without', where outer stimuli spark endogenous potential for acquiring useful skills as well as adopting constructive habits. For peace education these ideas are highly relevant to its central ambition to positively affect behaviour - in a peaceful direction, one may add. Continuing on the line of usability of educational efforts, the direct application of knowledge and even conceptually embed education in the surrounding context the student is confronted with has garnered interest among scholars. Bruner for instance discusses the process of education by stating that "I would be quite satisfied with de-emphasis on the structure of knowledge, and deal with it in the context of the problems that face us" and explains that getting "vocation and intention back into the process of education" is important (Bruner 1971:20). One important application of education is addressing the key problem of exclusion, the needs of marginalized groups or individuals in society, particularly among the children. Bruner clarifies that "[i]f there is one thing that has come out of our work with the very young, it is the extent to which 'being out', not having a chance as an adult, or as a parent, very quickly reflects itself in loss of hope in the child. As early as the second or third year a child begins to reflect this loss of hope" (1971:21). It is heart-wrenching to consider such young children's ability and

[1] Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus

susceptibility to absorb and be influenced by an unfavourable immediate context. It does not come as surprise that educators sometimes justify agendas for their programs to accomplish certain goals from a specific societal perspective. Bruner argues that it should be acknowledged that "education is not a neutral subject" neither is a secluded issue, on the contrary it conveys a political tone that opens a door for an individual and in doing so we close the door to another (1971:21). Bruner's warning about the consequences concerning preferences and 'exclusion' of some children that could become then structural violence in the class room and society is highly relevant. It is held here that education has always an agenda and peace educators are to be aware of their agendas and accountable for the effects peace education content and modelling will make in pupils' lives. Likewise, Freire argues that "education cannot not be neutral" and that one must not be naïve but to enquire on the true role of education, which in his view is socio-political (1972:173). Not surprisingly this thinking has followers among peace educators. Reardon argues, in relation to her own approach to peace education, that education and society are profoundly connected and by doing so she positions education as a social establishment and activity that is steered by social morals: "Education is a social enterprise conducted for the realization of social values. The question is what values are to be realized through education, and how" (1988:23). Thus, as has been indicated here, education is a matter of purposeful choice in terms of the values that are to be acquired and transmitted to the learners. There is thus ample room for interpretation and discussions on both the role of education in society per se, as well as on the specific impact desired through an educational intervention. Education with the goal to promote peace contains a strong societal element and in many cases involves sharing of values. That education indeed has an important role to play for peace endeavours has been eloquently pointed out by Sloan (1982): "[E]fforts for peace are intimately connected with education because they involve the ways in which we attempt to know and understand reality. And our ways of knowing directly affect the way we relate to the world and, hence, the kind of world we create for ourselves through our institutions, our technologies, and our conceptions of reality. The world we apprehend and live in is structured by our consciousness. It is here that education and the peace movement have the most to do with each other, and it is here that, so far, both have done the least" (quoted by Fry 1986:77). How we think is indeed influenced by education. Education can either mould our perceptions or empower us to think independently – or both, depending on where plurality is accepted or not in society or the group to which one belongs. We round off this discussion on education with Haavelsrud's apt observation: "There are no simple answers to how education can contribute towards disarmament and development. But increasing awareness through education seems to be a way towards the kind of mobilisation that is necessary" (Haavelsrud in Simpson 2004:1). 'Mobilisation for disarmament' is wittingly put, and the weapons to be forged would include awareness, which of course itself is an ambiguous concept. And what awareness that is relevant for peace strivings is open for debate. One can here suggest that education understood in a general sense can through knowledge enable the student to reflect on society and learn skills to influence immediate social context, which constitute highly relevant

properties of education. The field of education is indeed extensive and complex in the sense that it permeates all facets of life and society and is at the same time of great significance to society. Here the discussion is restrained to confer about the relevance of education as a central process to accomplish peace education.

2.2.2. THE NOTION OF PEACE

Before describing Peace Education we will give some space to probing the concept of peace and theories describing peace. Etymologically, the term 'peace' stems from the Latin word 'Pax', which also denoted 'treaty' or 'agreement'. In Judeo-Christian thinking the ancient concept of 'Shalom' encompasses more than just absence of violence or conflict, describing a holistic ideal with complete fulfilment of human needs, including restored relationships between individuals, peoples as well as with God (Van Ness 1993:284). Fox, quoting a Bible expositor, notes that "[shalom] really mean 'wholeness' and describes fullness of life in every respect. It can refer to bodily health, or a long life which ends in a natural death. It is also used to describe safety, and harmony for the individual and for the community" (Fox 2014:182). Interestingly, major developments in the area of peace research described below do indeed incorporate to the peace concept aspects that transcend the commonly used two-dimensional peace vs. war dichotomy.

2.2.3. POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE PEACE AND STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

One of the most prominent scholars in the field of peace research is sociologist Johan Galtung who made the foundational distinction between what he called 'positive' and 'negative' peace. Galtung explains: "[N]egative peace, defined as the absence of organized violence between such major human groups as nations, but also between racial and ethnic groups because of the magnitude that can be reached by internal wars; and positive peace defined as a pattern of cooperation and integration between major human groups" (Galtung 1968/1975:29). In addition Galtung holds that conflict may or may not involve [physical] violence, and likewise [physical] violence may occur with or without a conflict. These distinctions lead him to classify inter-state relations as either being at war with one another, negative peace with little if any interactions but no [physical] violence, positive peace with collaboration and occasional [physical] violence, and finally unqualified peace with collaboration and absence of [physical and non-physical] violence between nations involved. We notice the perhaps surprising compatibility of positive peace with conflict in Galtung's construct. Anecdotally we may mention that the former president of the United States Ronald Reagan, who negotiated the end of the cold war, admitted that "[p]eace is not absence of conflict, it is the ability to handle conflict by peaceful means"[2]. The view here is that conflict

[2] USIP (United States Institute of Peace)

constitutes a ubiquitous phenomenon, not to be equated with absence of peace, and points to the need of finding the means to reach an agreement. Moreover, accepting the notion of 'positive peace' renders peace a positive content of its own, giving peace character and qualities beyond the 'anonymous' identity as mere absence of war. Peace is "the capacity to transform conflicts with empathy, creativity and non-violence"[3] (Urbain 2015:78).

2.2.4. STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND IMPOSED OR CONSENSUAL PEACE

Important in Galtung's concept of negative peace is the presence of non-physical violence in terms of so called structural violence that can be displayed as socio-economic-political inequality and other types of injustice at different levels. Galtung's notion of structural violence has been firmly established in the peace discourse. A recent example: "Structural violence occurs when wealth and power exploit or oppress others, and standards of justice are not upheld. It is created by the deprivation of human needs and creates suffering for individuals throughout the world" (Harris & Morrison 2012:14). We can compare Galtung's positive and negative peace with the categorization using the terms 'imposed peace' and 'consensual peace' suggested by Johnson and Johnson (2005). The former is enforced through military or economic superiority of an involved party (cf. Pax Romana) or third-party, whereas the latter is based on a mutual agreement founded in a newly acquired relationship of interdependency. Important here is the fact that imposed peace does not settle profound controversies between parties, but appears to establish a kind of negative peace rather than positive peace between unequal and non-interdependent parties.

Qualifying positive peace as a concept that entails more than just absence of violent conflict, Galtung paved the way for numerous contributions to the enriched definition of peace. He was not the first to view peace in positive terms however. Already Spinoza affirmed that "[peace is not the mere absence of war, but is a virtue that springs from force of character" (quoted in Smith 1994:363) Quoting the National Peace Academy, Harris and Morrison state that peace can be defined as "[t]he wholeness created by right relationships with oneself, other persons, other cultures, other life, earth and the larger whole of which we are part" (Harris & Morrison 2012:14). Right relationships in turn are dependent on justice: "There are many conceptual definitions of peace. All have at their core the notion that peace cannot be separated from the idea of justice" (Harris & Morrison 2012:14). Fox argues that peace should be comprehended as a principal conception embedded in cooperation, harmony, and constructive human relations (Fox 2014), which one could argue is the quintessence of positive peace.

[3] This statement on empathy was noted by musician and writer Urbain during a personal conversation with Glatung in 2000.

Here it is important to acknowledge three key concepts that belong to the discourse of peace, more precisely the establishment and maintenance of peace: Peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building.

Peace-keeping was conceived by the UN during Dag Hammarskjöld's period as Secretary General and "began as an unplanned UN response initiated, to a particular set of problems at a particular time" (Woodhouse & Ramsbotham, 2000:27) with great expectations to contribute to peace worldwide. However failures in Somalia, Bosnia and Rwanda have had sobering effects on these hopes (Woodhouse & Ramsbotham, 2000). Peace keeping essentially entails keeping individuals, groups or countries perpetrating violence against each other by setting a type of barrier between them in order to hinder warfare. Normally, neutral soldiers called 'peace-keepers' from the UN or neutral countries constitute the barrier and their role has not nothing to do with the disputants' differences neither do they assist the negotiation of a peace deal. Peace-keepers' main objective is just to block violence between two combating groups (Bellamy et al. 2010). However, peace-keeping efforts may enable and facilitate further activities toward peace: "Traditional peace keeping … [is] … intended to support peace-making between states to negotiate a political settlement" (Bellamy et al 2010:8).

Second, peace-making is basically the process of establishing an agreement so that the fighting parties stop direct violence and hostility. In words of Woodhouse et al. (2005) peace-making entails the actions to lead to armed conflicts to an end after the cold war period. How can this be achieved? Technically, peace-making is accomplished through direct negotiations with just the two disputants and in many cases a mediator is required. Nan et al. states that "to make peace, one must first see that it is possible" (Nan et al. 2011:5). Nan's et al. approach to peace making is less technical and more personal where the individual as a whole being is engaged in the peace making process, involving social, moral, spiritual and cultural elements (Nan et al. 2011). Nevertheless, more than a peace agreement is needed to bring peace to a region, therefore peace-making is not the closing step in a peace process, but on the contrary constitute the first step after which the subsequent process of peacebuilding can commence.

The third concept, peace-building, is the process of stabilising relations and reconciling disputes between all the members of the fighting groups which aim "to transform conflicts constructively and to create a sustainable peace environment. A distinction one can include here is that in contrast to peace keeping which works within a conflict management framework, peace building works within a conflict resolution framework (Woodhouse & Ramsbotham, 2000). A broad definition suggests that Peace-building addresses all the major components of the conflict: fixing the problems, which threatened the core interests of the parties; changing the strategic thinking; and changing the opportunity structure and the ways of interacting" (Reychler & Paffenholz 2001:12). Furthermore, they explain that a peace-building frame denotes all undertakings needed during the process for constructing a sustainable peace area, region or community by envisioning a peaceful upcoming, holding a

proper comprehensive needs assessment and designing a logical peace strategy including an operative plan (2001). Paris argues that a post-conflict peace-building seeks to avert violent conflict flare up again once the fight has ceased. Paris' main point is that studies on peace building are heavily directed by policy relevance, which entails a more technical approach (2000:33).

It is fairly straightforward to envisage the (overlapping) succession of peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building endeavours in the ideal process of transforming a violent conflict to peaceful and even constructive co-existence of former antagonists. In a non-violent conflict the two latter activities are also applicable. As Galtung argued, conflicts also occur in positive peace relations, and the positive qualities inherent in positive peace could here also include a continuous peace-making (in terms of conflict resolution) and an intentional peace-building climate. Indeed, repeated peace-making would be an element within continuous peace-building, be it interpersonal or inter-state relations.

2.2.5. POSITIVE PEACE AS STAND-ALONE CONCEPT

Having alluded to the positive but less discussed qualities of peace we now expand this theme somewhat as it directly underpins the role of education in peace efforts. Fox argues that defining and conceptualising peace through purely negative and antagonistic terms is an error: "By this is meant that we must make peace the foundational concept by which we understand ourselves, while accordingly, violence and war become derivative or second-order concepts" (Fox 2014:179). Harris and Morrison agree: "While the absence of war can be understood as peace, and the absence of peace is often war, peace and war are not correlatives" (2012:14). We are here invited to reflect anew upon how we define peace and how to do this without using the concept of war and conflict as the framework for understanding peace. (Doing the opposite, trying to define war only using negations, as traditionally done for the concept of peace, is an interesting exercise: War is absence of etc., etc.) Rapoport argues along the same lines claiming that peace research should reach beyond the negative peace notion: "Peace research should be conceived as an applied science with the goal of preventing wars (that is, the preservation of 'negative peace') as a minimum and, more comprehensively, with the goal of promoting 'positive peace' that is, the unification of mankind into a cooperative enterprise on a world scale" (Rapoport quoted in Pardesi 1982:43). That research on positive peace *per se* has been underrepresented in peace research has also been observed by Danesh: "By placing 'conflict' at the core of theories of peace and 'conflict management' as their ultimate objective, the discipline of peace studies has abandoned its primary raison d'etre — to study the nature of peace and the dynamics of peacebuilding. Most theories of peace do not place adequate emphasis on the process of peace building and the development of the inherent capacities of individuals, institutions, communities, civil society, and governments, both to prevent violence and to create harmonious relationships" (2008:1). One here strongly agrees with the reasoning exemplified above which firmly links peace building and positive peace to each other. As a scientific discipline Peace Research can contribute beyond explaining conflict

resolution and explore the concept of peace, in particular the positive peace variety, itself, its width, breadth and height. The more peace research advances in the area of elucidating deeper meaning and content of peace as a 'stand-alone' entity, the more these insights can enrich understanding of peace building and its different applications.

A brief discussion on the role frames and media will round off the discussion on peace. The hitherto prevalent conceptual dependency of peace on war is an example of 'framing', a construct that has been developed within communication and media research: "The major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue" (Chong & Druckman 2007:104). Put simply it is speaking about one thing is different ways. For example one can say 'crime' instead of saying 'misdemeanour' 'lawlessness' or 'offense' depending on one's intention the thing or the action is framed (Janicki 2015:38). The frames created by various types of media have been extensively studied. Gitlin explains: "Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse whether verbal or visual" (1980:7). Moreover, it is here held that 'war media frames' entail consciously projecting images of dead bodies and blood. It has also been argued that this media fuel conflict by providing incomplete information through distorted frames. The opposite term is also coined 'peace media' which seek to be more conscious on how difficult news or violence is presented to the audience through using peace media frames for example researching for in depth and accurate information instead of announcing incomplete heavily emotional news (Wolfsfeld 2004). It has been argued above that peace has been given a limited meaning as only defined as absence of war only. The frame created in this case of the peace concept is therefore a negative one. And one could argue that media have cemented this notion. When peace has been achieved the cameras move on to another area of conflict and there is nothing more to report, since peace is nothing 'in itself' according to this frame. Instead one could suggest another frame anchored in the positive qualities in peace. When discussing peace it is therefore imperative to recognise that peace is entitled to a frame of its own.

In this section the terms 'education' and peace' have been discussed and the connections between them. Education is regarded important in its ability to influence thinking including values, which has a bearing to how to understand and then address conflict. Consolidating peace may encompass many functions in society, depending on how one defines peace. Here the influence of media on perceptions on specific conflicts and long term ambitions for peace should be taken into account.

2.3. PEACE EDUCATION CHARACTERISTICS

2.3.1. CHALLENGES IN DEFINING PEACE EDUCATION

Having discussed the rich concepts of peace and education we now proceed to the domain of peace education, the main topic of this thesis. Peace education denotes in the English language both the pedagogical practice as well as the scholarly discourse and scientific pursuit. At the outset of this section it is therefore emphasised that the term 'peace education' here encompasses the work of both theorists as well as practitioners and that when specific aspects of peace education is discussed below they have a bearing on both theoretical as well as interventional levels of peace education as a phenomenon. Indeed, practice and theory go hand in hand. Peace education theories are to be implemented in practice: "Peace education is knowledge with practical/utilitarian outcomes and, in fact, one could argue that without the praxis dimension there is no true peace education" (Synott 2005:10). And conversely, to better understand good peace education practice is dependent on a robust theoretical framework. Concerning formal definition of peace education Haavelsrud states that the intangible connotations of education and peace may lead to convoluted operationalization of key concepts defining peace education as discipline and associated programs. In view of this problem he outlined core conceptual incongruities within the pedagogical realm including "the content, method of communication and organizational structure of the educational program" (Haavelsrud 2008:59). Moreover, Ben-Porah has criticized the incorporation of sub-elements into the body of peace education practice and research: "The field entitled 'peace education' is in fact so broad that authors disagree on the description of the problem they wish to address and correspondingly on the proper solution, as well as on the site in which peace education is to take place … The variety of seemingly unrelated subjects amalgamated under the headline 'peace education'—women's rights and economic equality, anger management and environmental awareness, acceptance of 'others' and their narratives and subscribing to the meta-narrative of universal human rights" (Porath 2003:525, 527). However, when the subject matter of the pedagogical intervention, the concept of peace, itself is an extremely diverse research area, this in turn will affect the definition of peace education. There are leading peace education scholars who are aware of these challenges in the peace education area. For instance, Salomon argues "that neither scholarly nor practical progress can take place in the absence of clear conceptions of what peace education is and what goals it is to serve" (Salomon & Nevo 2005:3). Hence both education and peace spheres contributing to peace education are dependent on a coherent vocabulary of concepts to be applied in the peace education discourse.

2.3.2. STRUCTURAL ASPECTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Next at a few examples of how peace education is described will be mentioned. In seeking peace through education one could argue that the ethos is to reduce violence in any form – that this is the main goal of peace education. We commence with the basic formulation by Page: "In general terms one can say that peace education has evolved from concerns about

making an educational response to the problem of war and social justice" (Page 2008:1). We note here Page's combination of structural and direct violence. This portrayal of peace education as a reaction to violence is complemented by Ardizzone: "Originally a study of the causes of war and its prevention, peace education since has evolved into studying violence in all its manifestations and educating to counteract the war system for the creation of a peace system—a peace system on both the structural and individual level" (Ardizzone 2003:430).

The route that goes from addressing direct or structural violence to deep understanding and hopefully experience of peace is by many held to involve transformational social change. So Ardizzone: "I realize that using the term 'peace education' can be tricky, as it often is seen as controversial and subversive due to its goal of questioning economic, political, and social structures. Critics of peace education either do not recognize or decide to overlook peace education's focus on reducing direct and structural violence and on promoting values of justice, responsibility, and equity. Peace education is about justice and dignity. It is simply education for social change and action" (Ardizzone 2003:422). Along these lines we would include Burns' and Aspeslagh's (1996) notion that "[p]eace education is aligned with a radical/counter-hegemonic paradigm for social change through education (Synott 2005:7). How far or deep can we reach with a peace education programme? Ideally, any intervention and if possible including peace education should unravel the underlying causes for conflicts: "An important role of peace education is to highlight the roots of conflict that promote violence and suggest strategies for peace that could eliminate these root causes" (Harris and Morrison 2012:5). Peace education strategies of this kind aim at structural violence and see social change as a prerequisite for genuine peace, or positive peace to use Galtung's words. This thoroughgoing ambition would be applicable in situations of overt conflict with violence as well as preventive measures in 'negative peace' settings.

2.3.3. REACTIVE AND PROACTIVE AMBITIONS

Again, peace education constitutes a reaction against a situation of conflict, in this case through reconsidering perspectives of the other party. One could therefore argue for peace education both as the structured actions towards non-violent conflict handling as well as to the expansion and establishment of peace framing that transcends reactive measures to conflict. In this context it is interesting to note Salomon's distinction between peace education and education for peace: "Also, I consider that peace education, unlike education *for* peace, is about peace *with a particular party*, not peace as a general and abstract notion" (Salomon, 2004:123). Most peace education initiatives have been established as a response to a conflict or tensed relations between groups. For Salomon, an important aspect of peace education is making peace and living in peace with an adversary, another unfavourable group: a minority group, a group of immigrants, another ethnic group, tribe, religion or political party (2004:123).

Peace education may also include a proactive approach. A further goal is hence envisaged to teach conflict prevention skills so that individuals may avoid the appearance of a conflict in

advance, which in turn should be seen in a wider perspective of 'peace enrichment'. Conflict seen as social process is neither good or bad it is the form in which the conflict is resolved that determines the outcome to be either a peaceful resolution or a violent interaction (Filley 1975). There is according to Salomon also the possibility to adapt peace education, in the form of 'education for peace', for groups not (any longer) involved in protracted conflict encouraging and empowering individuals and groups to help tackle conflicts of others (Salomon and Nevo 2005). There is in this work no sharp divide made between 'peace education' and 'education for peace' do not separate peace education from 'education for peace', but it is agreed with Salomon on the importance of educational interventions incorporated into the peace education frame, also in peaceful times, to deepen understanding and commitment to peace at different levels. What is here suggested is to include to peace education a deepened understanding of peace that would in part depend on understanding and acknowledging the fundamental values underpinning sustainable peace, in particular positive peace. Morrison claims that "[p]eace education aims to inspire and strengthen peace and harmony through pedagogical undertakings that shun violence. It is a dynamic educational enterprise seeking to impact society through teaching about peace ideas and training in values as well as to understanding and adapting to social standards within a philosophical frame for transmitting principles such as value of life, non-violence, compassion" (Morrison 2011:820). One would here include also peaceful co-existence and love (granted, the concept of 'love' deserves an exposition of its own, which is however beyond the scope of this discussion).

Some themes suggested by Ben-Porah concerning current peace education standpoints addresses the various violence types employing a broad array of responses such as "coping and sharing skills among peers, the need for recognition of the 'other' and the development of care" (2003:525).

2.3.4. THREE CONCERNS OF PEACE EDUCATION

Based on the discussion on various settings for peace education we now introduce Page's categorization of levels[4] of operation for peace education. To address peace education in relation to specific conflicts calls for acknowledgement of the main dimensions of peace education, or levels using Page's words. He demarcates three such levels at which peace education can operate: "The primary concern of peace education is to prevent the suffering and wastage associated with warfare. A secondary concern is the linkage with cognate social concerns, such as reflected in development education, education for international

[4] Page calls the Peace Education concerns 'levels' but this term does not connote a hierarchy in the sense that the 'levels' always come in the same pre-specified order. Therefore these concerns do not constitute levels strictly speaking. Still this is an approach Page uses to organize his discourse.

understanding, human rights education, futures education, inclusive education, education for social justice, and environmental education. A third level [5] of peace education is what might be called the intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects of peace education, dealing with self-understanding, self-fulfilment, and how we interact with each other and our environment at a personal level" (Page 2010:1). The three levels or concerns will now be discussed in the following section.

Level one – warfare, and two – Social concerns: Within the two 'top' levels we may further differentiate the settings for peace education. Salomon mentions the following context types: "(1) a continuous violent conflict between nations or different ethnic or religious groups (Israel, Northern Ireland) [here we also include intractable social conflicts (Azar 1990:145) between political groups as in Colombia]; (2) tension between different [i.e. ethnic] groups in the absence of violence, for example, as in Belgium and Quebec, and (3) a peaceful socio-political context in which any discussion of education toward peace is, to a large extent, academic and unrelated to any specific opponent, such as in Sweden" (Salomon, 2005:41–42). The type of background will or should shape both form and content of the peace education intervention, with the intractable social conflict characterizing type 1 requiring the most comprehensive approach. Bar-Tal and Rosen suggest in this case the following: "In general peace education has many faces and its focuses depend on the needs and objectives of the different societies. In societies engaged in intractable conflict, the objective of peace education is to advance and facilitate peace making and reconciliation. It aims to construct students' worldview (i.e., their values, beliefs, attitudes, emotions, motivations, skills and patterns of behaviour) in a way that facilitates conflict resolution and peace process and prepares them to live in an era of peace and reconciliation" (2009:5).

Salomon elaborates on efficacy of peace education, he highlights the relative inertia often found in intervention target groups involved in conflicts that have roots in the group's common history and central attitudes and beliefs that peace education rarely can change (Salomon 2006:37). Interestingly, Salomon also states that peace education programs that relate to what he calls 'peripheral' attitudes and beliefs lend themselves to straightforward shifts connected with behaviours producing therefore petty results (Salomon 2006:37). In Salomon's view these results are limited based on the fact that immediate violence do not cease yet focusing to develop social awareness comprising what he calls 'peripheral' attitudes is central to any society even those living in relative calm and at peace (2006).

Another important conflict problematic to address through peace education is inequality between parties involved in a conflict. We recall the structural or non-direct violence that persists in negative peace situations mentioned above, which here mainly concern conflict

levels one and two. Johnson and Johnson explain that inequality, which is often the result of imposed peace, may affect the parties involved in terms of "differential psychological and physical well-being (i.e., high power parties have high self-efficacy and self-esteem whereas low-power parties have low self-efficacy and self-esteem along with stress related illnesses" (2005). When this situation is a fact peace education could try to tackle these problems. Abu-Nimer (2000) "proposed that peace education should contain learning about the need for reconciliation with the enemy, about the perspective of the other in conflict, the asymmetry of the power, and the inequalities that arise from this power differences, cooperation and nonviolence as the most effective methods of dealing with conflicts and acquisition of critical thinking". The value of consensual peace is instead an obvious ingredient in preventive peace education programs, where the benefits should be clearly outlined, as described by Johnson and Johnson: "The result is a joint success in maintaining the peace, positive relationships among the involved parties, a sense of joint agency and efficacy, and joint self-esteem. The foundation on which consensual peace is built is positive interdependence" (2005:283). We notice again the multi-dimensional content envisaged in order to successfully address an existing conflict.

At the second level of conflict, the inter-group level, we can also include the approach build on the so called 'contact hypothesis' developed by Alport already in 1954. This is a cooperative learning technique in which a smaller set of students with representatives from different groups study and cooperate together to complete a common task. The aim is to improve the relations between the groups and highly applicable as a general teaching and learning method. This technique was very successful both in lower and higher grades of elementary school, not only as a teaching method but also for creating a positive atmosphere in the classroom, reinforcing students' relationships (Pettigrew 1998).

Level three – intra/interpersonal: Having discussed the first two levels, we now come Page's third level of peace education is what might be called the intra-personal and interpersonal level. A practical example is found in Lodge's and Frydenberg's (2005) research on the role of peer bystander in developing peaceful school environment, which showed that self-esteem is a significant characteristic in children that support other children exposed to bullying. Indeed the perspective taken about oneself is crucial for preventing or handling conflicts constructively. We believe that a sound self-image directly affects interpersonal interactions and relations, including acquiring a genuine sense of responsibility for one's actions and acceptance of positive interdependence of others. The main focus of the present work is the interpersonal aspects in particular, where the interpersonal perspective taking is regarded a pre-requisite for solving or even better prevent violent conflicts. As will be argued in this thesis there is a need to include the for peace education novel topic of perspective taking in the curriculum, in order to facilitate development of abilities to take a third-person perspective in a conflict situation.

Page sums up his discussion on the three levels where peace education can operate stating that all levels are needed, and one would agree to this conclusion. The personal involvement in relationships and dealing with conflicts has ramifications in community and society. Promoting development of socially competent individuals that can navigate at interpersonal, inter-group and international levels of interactions is hence a fundamental objective of peace education. Salomon argues along the same lines: "Thus, the ultimate goal of peace education is to lead to the legitimization of the other side's point of view. This does not need to entail agreement with the other side, just seeing it as legitimate and thus valid. Changes of attitude, weakening of prejudices and more positive ways of relating to the other side would then easily follow" (Salomon 2004:1). The personal engagement and perspective taking are therefore also instrumental for changes at different levels.

Starting with counteracting existing conflicts, peace education train individuals to develop competencies for handling conflicts non-violently. It also equips the individual to behave sensibly and promote values of peace in the community and society as a whole implied here is the basic notion that learning, in terms of knowledge and skills, is necessary for breaking patterns of violence and conflict (Bjerstedt 1992). An important aspect of conflict is that it includes potential for change, and it is in this context that peace education addresses the issues of conflict and conflict resolution by teaching students how to take creative approaches to the conflict and how to find different possibilities for the conflict resolution (Fountain 1999). Thus students gain knowledge and skills that encourage personal growth and development, contribute to self-esteem and respect of others, and develop competence for a nonviolent approach for conflict situations (Jones 2004). Conflict resolution is here regarded a reactive action – trying to solve a conflict after it has already occurred. However there are scholar conflict trends that have moved from reactive to proactive and also at empirical level for example Schrumpf et al., suggests that "school decision makers need to understand that conflict resolution is not a reactive but a proactive tool" (1997).

2.3.5. PEACE EDUCATION APPROACHES

Peace research as a scientific pursuit started after the World War II, and one milestone in this development was the inauguration in 1959 of The International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, led by the peace research pioneer Johan Galtung. Peace research subsequently budded into the area of peace education, which as a scholarly field has been since the late 1960s (Bajaj and Chui 2009). According to Harris disagreements on what the concept of 'peace' means and in connection with a blurred picture of varied expressions of violence has resulted in the emerging of five different categories of peace education: international education, human rights education, development education, environmental education and conflict resolution education. The theoretical constructs pertaining to each category differ in regards to concepts for addressing violence, strategies to promote peace and also to the expected goals (2004). Bajaj and Chui agree: "These subfields, or co-disciplines, take different conceptual and methodological approaches—from anti-nuclear efforts to interreligious dialogue—but fall

under the umbrella of peace education because of their shared purposes" (Bajaj & Chui 2009). Salomon and Cairns argue that there is a 'common denominator' in the fact that peace education aspires to "negate violence and conflict and to promote a culture of peace to counter a culture of war… although it is to serve other goals, such as human rights and democracy, is primarily and educational process operating within the context of war, threat, violence, and conflict that addresses attitudes, beliefs, attributions, skills and behaviours" they go on presenting a potential framework to approach peace education (2011:5). Thus despite the variety of existing approaches to peace education one may suggest the shared ethos on abhorring violence, embracing peaceful conflict resolution and promoting a culture of peace.

2.4. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF PEACE EDUCATION

Peace education has become a concern on a political level with an institutionalised agenda that shows that this concern is regarded as very important. From its origins 200 years ago, peace education has been discussed and practised for generations by thinkers, advocates, religious groups and politicians in terms of instilling harmony, tolerance and create a sense of humanity and 'international spirit' that could unite groups of people. The vision was conceived to promote peace predominantly through schools and classrooms using textbooks that would contain the principles of peace and inspired teachers that would teach and demonstrate the message of peace to the pupils. In in this section we aim to briefly trace the journey of peace education in America and Europe from the 1800s to the present time and study both major achievements as well as dissatisfactions.

2.4.1. UNESCO DECLARATIONS AND OBJECTIVES

The introduction to the Constitution of UNESCO[6] affirms that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed" it clearly states a commitment to educate humanity to peaceful coexistence.

UNESCO has for long committed itself to supporting education, research and cultural expressions for peace globally. The ethos is the following: "a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind"[7] Education constitutes a key instrument to cultivate an intellectual and cultural

[6] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

[7] portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

stature that is conducive of establishing and maintaining peace and UNESCO has continuously highlighted the importance of peace education. For instance, UNESCO expressed in Article 4 of the 1995 Declaration of Principles on Tolerance a "commitment to improve teacher training, curricula, textbooks, lessons and educational materials in order to create caring and responsible citizens who are open to other cultures, able to appreciate the value of freedom, respectful of human dignity and differences, and able to prevent conflicts or resolve such conflicts through nonviolent means" (Page 2010:2).

Another important initiative by UNESCO, with ramifications for peace education development, was the program 'A Culture of Peace' initiated 1992. This initiative led to the UN-endorsed campaign 'the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World'. UNESCO official David Adams, who was at the helm of this program, wrote "The alternatives to this culture [a culture of peace in contrast to a culture of war] are already being developed at many points in society: power as dialogue, democratic participation in decision making, universal tolerance and solidarity, equality of women, free flow of information, and development seen as a participative process" (quoted in Harris & Morrison 2012:143). Wintersteiner captures well the ethos of UNESCO's (and others') drive for culture of peace: "Culture of Peace grows from the insight that nothing will improve permanently if you only ensure that the weapons remains silent while allowing the war to continue on all other levels, in the economy, politics, and culture. In this sense, culture of peace is the basis of every politics of sustainability" (2014:188). The culture of peace is supposed to be applicable to everyday life everywhere in the world – and by ordinary people. Harris and Morrison comment on this trend: "Education for a culture of peace is the new broader understanding of peace education that is not just ending war. It helps to delegitimize violent solutions and war, and to raise awareness of the struggles of people all over the world to create peace" (2012:143). The 1999 United Nations General Assembly Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace expresses in article 4 the importance of education for a culture of peace and the article 9 describes how a culture of peace can be nurtured through different activities for children as well as higher education students promoting knowledge, skills and values necessary for establishing a culture of peace (Page 2010). We notice here the wide range of topics included that together underpin the concept of 'a culture of peace', which in turn renders peace a more holistic character. Another important feature is the prominent place given to interpersonal aspects complementing inter-group interactions and relations. One could suggest that the importance given to a culture of peace has brought prominence to peace education as a key vehicle, and this integrated view of peace has greatly influenced the peace education movement concerning content, methods and target groups.

2.4.2. PEACE EDUCATION IN THE USA

At the beginning of the 19th century Americans wanting to achieve their ideals of peace in order to counter the bloodshed during the wars they experienced took up the calling to advocate for peace. In the same line peace promoters saw in education a major vehicle for

the accomplishment of their mission already from the start as in the words of Worcester "there is nothing in the nature of mankind, which render war necessary and unavoidable...nothing which inclines them to it which may not be overcome by the power of education…" (Worcester 1815:20, in Fink 1980:66). As a result the Massachusetts Peace society was born in 1815 using various publicity means such as the quarterly journal "The Friends of Peace" (1816-1828). Worcester was convinced of the importance of reaching children and encouraged parents with the well-known Biblical exhortation: 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it' (Proverbs. 22:6, The King James' Version of the Bible). He argued that education being an effective tool had been used to train bloodthirsty children and now the same tool should be used to train peaceful civilians (Worcester 1815:17 in Fink 1980:66). Therefore peace literature also targeted children (Curti 1929:11 in Fink). Between 1817 -1820 the Massachusetts Peace society carried empirical research by performing statistical investigations on war causes and effects with the purpose of consolidating their propositions, these studies were made available to the public along many other manuscripts (Fink, 1980).

In 1828 Boston witnessed the birth of another peace organisation, the American Peace Society, which professed through publishing of peace proclamations that education was the best channel to shape humane citizens capable of attaining peace. Schools consequently became the focus of their interest and by 1850 The American Peace Society had multiplied into 50 branches across the country (Stomfay-Stitz, 2008:1). Another proponent of the early peace education movement was Elihu Burritt, who writes in a letter about his dari Mass., called the Christian Citizen, devoted to the dissemination of the principles of peace and human freedom. This was the first paper of the kind published in America (Burritt, "Letter to George Bancroft" 1849). He continues saying that his passion led him to write a brief piece 'Olive Leaves for the Press,' and to send it to two hundred newspapers, something he regarded a victory. Following suit many youths also became activists as exemplified by the Bowdoin Street Young Men Peace Society which in 1838 produced a leaflet aiming to enlighten young readers about the pillars of peace. According to Brock this was apparently the pioneer undertaking at peace education targeting young people in an intentionally pacifist attitude (Fink 1980).

The roots of peace education in the USA go back to the work of nineteenth century women reformers such as Jane Addams and Fannie Fern Andrews. The International Peace Research Association (IPRA), founded in 1965 and its North American counterpart, The Consortium on Peace, Research, Education and Development (COPRED), founded in 1970, were both an outgrowth of work done by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, founded by Jane Addams. Both IPRA and COPRED were founded as linking and connecting organizations, two key conceptual elements in educating for peace. These later ideas of peace education, including its relational and transformational potential, arose partly as a result of the women's movement and its influence on the field of peace studies. Feminists in the USA

were concerned, during the 1970s and 1980s, about the emphasis in the peace movement, largely dominated by males, on the technical aspects of the arms race, to the neglect of the more human and personal consequences of violence, including violence toward women. Peace began to be seen as including essential concepts of relationships, intrapersonal, interpersonal, and inter-global. Different ways of looking at connectedness and its relationship to nurturance, and women's ways of processing cognition and morality provided the groundwork for the work of such peace thinkers as Elise Boulding, Betty Reardon, Birgit Brock-Utne, and Sara Ruddick. Thus, peace education, in its holistic sense, includes not only skill building and philosophical principles, but, in addition, it cannot be separated conceptually from the whole idea of networking and connecting like-minded people in mutually productive, constantly interacting processes of teaching and learning (Morrison 2011:823).

The famous philosopher, John Dewey, also contributed to the area of peace education. According to Howlet, Dewey's initial motivation to peace was partly triggered by the heavy criticism he had received for backing the war intentions of President Wilson in 1917. As a result Dewey later emphasised that "human attitudes and efforts are the strategic centre for promotion of the generous aims of peace among nations; promotion of economic security; the use of political means in order to advance freedom and equality; and the world-wide cause of democratic institutions" and that "the basic importance of education in creating the habit and the outlook that are able and eager to secure the ends of peace, democracy, and economic stability" (Howlet 2008:4). Dewey hence argued that the school was a fundamental agent of social transformation by teaching attitudes and behaviours which play a pivotal role in assuring the goals of peace, political tranquillity and financial safety. Dewey also expressed concerns for the causes of war and envisioned world citizenship or internationalism to combat suspicion and hatred between nations. The school curriculum should, according to Dewey, contain history, geography and literature "which will make it more difficult for the flames of hatred and suspicion to sweep over this country in the future, which indeed will make this impossible, because when children's minds are the in formative period we shall have fixed in them through the medium of schools, feelings of respect and friendliness for the other nations and peoples of the world" (Howlet 2008:3). We recall here the ancient proverb mentioned above on receptiveness of children to values that continue to influence their outlook throughout life. We note that advocacy topics such as acknowledgment of the other – who is different- and their inherent value have for long been part of the peace education agenda in the US.

A subsequent development was the incorporation of the conflict resolution concept to the peace education curriculum, accredited to Theodore Lentz, who 1945 founded the Lentz Peace Research Laboratory. A few years earlier Kenneth Boulding had worked out a Peace Study Outline for post-secondary students (Stomfay-Stitz 2008:3). Concerning later development of peace education in the US, Stomfay-Stitz, argues that the proliferation of

nuclear arms has been a key issue in peace education discourses since the beginning of the 1950s. However, the tendency in most US peace education literature is still optimistic, being "embodied in a philosophy of hope in the future", for the purpose of peace it is said that "education is an instrument of change" (Stomfay-Stitz 1993:335). The cold war have had a hampering effect on the development of peace education and peace activists in the US were sometimes charged for having a communist agenda, and in addition the Vietnam war was brought to everyman's home via television. In these difficult times some peace education initiatives stand out. For instance, Elise Boulding published philosophical underpinnings to reinforce the subject of peace education (Stomfay-Stitz 2008:4).

With time peace education established itself in the US as a recognised pedagogical area and school teachers have organized themselves for the promotion of peace through education in for instance the International Peace Education Research Association (IPRA). Moreover, the Peace Education Network (PEN) has focused on "introducing and developing nonviolent conflict resolution as a central concept of American peace education" (Stomfay-Stitz 2008:4). Novel technologies like Internet have been used as vehicles for peace education programs in the US (Stomfay-Stitz 2008:5).

The academic community has actively contributed in the development of peace education field: "Through the research and advocacy of groups such as the U.S. Institute of Peace, numerous academic departments in peace studies and peace education including the International Institute for Peace Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, private organizations, and community-based Peace Centers, all have come together to create a cohort of believers, working with a collective motivation of attaining peace in the world" (Stomfay-Stitz 2008:1).

What has been described here is the he long and perhaps dwindling path of peace education in the US shows the endurance and adaptability of the peace educators in changing tides of history. And there are still peace education champions ready to voice their unflagging optimism. Stomfay-Stitz, for instance, goes as far as stating that "[p]eace education has the potential to become a major motivation in the schooling and community lives of American children" (Stomfay-Stitz 2008:6).

2.4.3. PEACE EDUCATION IN EUROPE

Surveying the development of peace education in Europe, Verdiana Grossi, highlights certain key events beginning with the London Peace Congress 1842, which contributed to establishing the "the idea that educating is shaping men and women in morality, ethics and religion. The principles of peace must be instilled into the minds of the younger generation" (Grossi 2000:5). Victor Hugo belongs to the idealists who at the Paris Peace Congress 1849 painted the European Uthopia and in this context emphasised the importance of education for a better future. Further peace congresses follow at the turn of the century continuing to the outbreak of World War II. Peace education in Europe witnessed women giving important contributions

in peace issues as is the case of Madelaine Carlier and Odette Laguerre, who were born in the early 1800s and received education that glorified warfare challenge the status quo and became writers of peace stories for children. Odette Laguerre, a long term peace campaigner and feminist (1860-1956), was the daughter of a diplomat and socialist and became the editor of the newspaper La Fronde, authored her book as a tribute to people from all walks of life patriots, illustrious or labourers who in any way have contributed to human improvement in spite of class, race or belief, she also speak for human rights, love and fraternity. It is also worth to mention Bertha von Suttner, who in 1889 became a prominent symbol in the peace movement through the publication of her pacifist novel, -Die Waffen nieder!-"Lay Down Your Arms!", which made her the first woman Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1905.

The emergence of new nation states with a perceived need to instil patriotism and willingness to fight to preserve independence is contrasted with the internationalism movement in Grossi's exposé. Educators find themselves in this tension and in the teaching of history this contrast is sharper than in other areas. The peace congresses addressed this challenge: "The central preoccupation is that of removing the bellicose spirit from education and replacing it with a spirit of peace" (Grossi 2000:6). In a response to this many history books were revised in respect to descriptions of wars, where space should be given to the value of tolerance and trans-national perspectives. An example of the acknowledgement of pacifist-oriented textbooks is the price that was awarded A. Seve for the best "Handbook which can be of use to educators at all levels to help presenting the principles and applications of pacifism, notably in showing how to reconcile and complete one's duties towards the nation and towards humanity" (Grossi 2000:6).

In response to accusations of pacifism the president of the Educational Commission, Ferenc Kemeny, elaborated in 1913 on how to differentiate International Education from Pacifist Education: "If the goals are the same, the ways and means differ. This reflects the Commission's concern to bring together teachers and specialists, enabling certain academic and semi-official circles to pursue their activities without being treated as pacifists" (Grossi 2000:10-11). Grossi continues to describe women's contributions to peace education, highlighting Odette Laguerre (1910) who advocated proper education for students to "prepare youth for the coming of a European Federation …[which] would be the end of anarchy in Europe and the beginning of a real civilisation based on law" (Grossi 2000:12).

After World War I the striving for justice and peace through education in the international community continues. At the Third International Congress on Moral Education in Geneva, justice is the overarching goal, where "[i]nternational spirit, education and the teaching of history are on the agenda" with subsequent conferences on teaching manuals in Stockholm and Oslo in the 1920s (Grossi 2000:18). The integration of peace principles is soon expanded beyond the humanities. The subject of history is presents however the greatest obstacles for reaching consensus. In Germany and Italy a strong trend in the opposite direction was displayed in the 1930s with exaltation of own country and race. Interestingly, Grossi mentions

opposing voices also within Germany: “The German section of the International League of Mothers and Educators for Peace protests against military parades of children and adds that women want to see their children brought up in a spirit of peace and harmony” (Grossi 2000:21).

Another strand of research on education for peace revolves around the thoughts, feelings, and basic drives of a child in their bearing to war and peace. Bovet, for example accepts the right to engage in combat provided one does not assault somebody weaker than yourself and not doing it for personal interests. He tries to find a resolution to the tension between pacifism on the one hand and dealing with evil: “[P]eace education implies and assumes an education which is both moral (the fight against evil) and social (initiation in solidarity and human rights) at the same time” (Grossi 2000:22). In Montessori’s well-known contributions to education includes her work “Education and Peace” (1943) where she advocated replacing the authoritarian mode of education with an approach giving the child freedom to develop as a citizen: “She reasoned that children who did not automatically follow authoritarian teachers would not necessarily follow despotic rulers urging them to war. Montessori saw that the construction of peace depends upon an education that would free the child’s spirit, promote love of others and remove the climate of compulsory restriction” (Harris 2004:14). In this endeavour the cultivating creative talents and skills among children was given a prominent space in the curriculum. Interestingly, Montessori was one of the pioneers who saw the key role of the teacher for successful peace education programs and lasting effects in society.

The years following World War II, Montessori’s approach continued to inspire educators, including Herbert Read, who gave strong emphasis in peace education to creative arts as a means to reduce space for damaging aggression (Harris 2011). Further development in the area of peace education was seen in three seminal works during the 1980s. Here, Brocke-Utne advocated feminism as the means to overcome masculine militarism as well as masculine domestic violence. Reardon on the other hand described that the concepts “care, concern and commitment” could be applied in the areas of “planetary stewardship, global citizenship, and humane relationships” (Harris 2011:114). The holistic approach suggested by Harris is characterized by “cooperative learning, democratic community, moral sensitivity, and critical thinking” (2011:14).

The peace scholar Johan Galtung, famous for his concepts of positive and negative peace (1969) mentioned elsewhere in this work, draws in 1985 the interesting parallel between peace and health, where both depend on research, education and practice from the respective areas of peace studies and medicine. Galtung emphasises the importance of scientific investigation for sustainable peace interventions: ” those who engage in education and action without any research basis and for that reason have a tendency to repeat their own cherished beliefs, whether those of the establishment or the anti-establishment, trying to shape the world according to their dogmas” (Galtung 1985:148). Despite this statement, Galtung does not hesitate to draw the attention to important role of peace education in this period: “the

major challenges of the 1980s are certainly peace education and peace action. Due to the UN and UNESCO resolutions, many countries are now having great internal debates as to how peace education should be carried out. This is a field where many peace researchers have already launched themselves, and hopefully will continue to do so, seeing it as a very important opportunity to test the thinking in dialogues that are educational to both sides" (Galtung 1985:156).

Other major peace education themes appearing during this period include cross-cultural awareness and empathy in inter-ethnic conflicts, non-violence in areas with domestic violence problems, mechanisms of underdevelopment and community building for peace where poverty leads to structural violence (Harris 2011). A related theme is human rights where justice and values underpinning human rights are emphasised in educational programs. Further, the increasing concern for environmental problems has also made a mark among peace educators, who see environmental sustainability as a prerequisite for sustainable peace. A core competence that is gaining importance in peace education is conflict resolution, which in turn can take different shapes. Page observes that "[o]ne of the noteworthy recent developments in peace education has been an increasing interest in the above interpersonal and intrapersonal aspects of peace education. In other words, we need not be merely concerned with the prevention of violence on a governmental and social level, but we need also to be concerned with local and domestic violence, and with the quality of our everyday relationships" (Page 2010:1). Here, attention is given to conflicts at the micro-level and insights from psychology, including developmental psychology have been found very helpful in addressing questions on coordination of perspectives and maintenance of relationships.

As we see the later development of peace education field has resulted in a dramatic diversification with a rich flora of 'schools' within peace education being implemented, which in turn reflects the 'multi-facetness' of human violence and conflict as such. These branches within peace education will be discussed separately below.

2.5. THEORETICAL CONCEPTIONS OF PEACE EDUCATION

The term 'philosophy' is here used as a metaphor and is not the term philosophy used in the research field of philosophy. 'Philosophy' is widely used in peace education literature to denote the theoretical conceptions borrowed from the field of education and other fields including the ethos, values, thinking, background and theories associated with current peace education studies.

2.5.1. EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Peace education draws from a wide variety of disciplines including the areas of peace and education as has been described above. Both of which have developed a prolific literature of

philosophy[8] and it is therefore not surprising that also peace education scholars have invested in constructing philosophic theories of peace education. Peace education is a field comprised of different conceptual underpinnings, diverse understandings and models. Page argues that it is important to reflect on the consistency within the differences in peace education so that a common framework can be formed and the positioning of peace education be made solid. He reasons that without an articulate validation as any undertaking, peace education is to doom be hold back and expose to outsiders disapproval for lacking a the rationale of an educational venture (2008).

Looking at peace education philosophy first from an educational perspective one can learn from Bowen and Hobson's paradigm of philosophy of education: "[E]very coherent educational philosophy, or paradigm, to be complete, needs to address five central conceptual areas: human nature; knowledge; how learning/teaching take place; the social aspects of the paradigm; where the paradigm fits into the overall role of education" (Synott 2005:9). One could also include aspects of the discussion on authority in the educational setting. These facets of educational philosophy are also highly relevant to peace education one would here argue. Specific questions from education philosophy to incorporate into the peace education discourse would include: How do the peace education teacher and the student view their respective roles and the role of the other? How is learning defined? And can one differentiate knowledge vs. skills acquired? Finally, what is the primary justification or rationale of educational endeavours at all in the first place? These questions from the educational realm are here regarded relevant also for peace education.

From the educational perspective concerns have been raised about the theoretical groundwork of peace education: "We want to work critically with how meaning is bounded in the ways that concepts are *performed*, contextually and historically. Critical perspectives have pointed to the lack of educational theorizing in peace education, which, to this day – as in most of the education field –is being guided mostly by functionalist, psychologized and often idealistic perspectives (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2011:26). If this observation is correct, then there should be ample opportunities for education and peace education scholars to engage in constructing robust models to strengthen the body of peace education theory.

2.5.2. PEACE PERSPECTIVE

Continuing with the topic of peace education philosophy the discussion now considers ideas from the peace philosophy realm. Arun Ghandi's statements on non-violence will serve as an

[8] The term 'philosophy' is here used as a metaphor and is not the term philosophy used in the research field of philosophy. 'Philosophy' is widely used in peace education literature to denote the theoretical conceptions borrowed from the field of education and other fields including the ethos, values, thinking, background and theories associated with current peace education studies.

example of considerations from peace philosophy: “This paralysis of analysis has caused some scholars to view the philosophy of non-violence as a “strategy” to be used when convenient. Gandhi says that non-violence is not a jacket that you can put on today and discard tomorrow. Using non-violence only as a strategy is the reason it has had limited success, and when it has not been successful it has not been lasting” (Gandhi in Fitz-Gibbon 2010: xxii). We notice there the important differentiation between strategy and philosophy. A strategy can be changed according to circumstances, whereas a philosophy is based on conviction on what peace entails and how it can be realized. In this case only peaceful means are justifiable according the underlying understanding of the essence of peace. Now, Gandhi also comments on the efficacy of non-violence, but as philosophical veracity this notion is not really necessary. Gandhi believes non-violence is the right thing ‘in its own right’, so to speak, which distinguishes philosophical tenets form strategical/tactical ones.

2.5.3. PHILOSOPHY AND SKILLS

Can we philosophically address peace education in the same way as non-violence? According to Harris and Morrison peace education is “considered both to be a philosophy and a process involving skills including listening reflection, problem solving, and cooperation and conflict resolution. The process involves empowering people with the skills attitudes and knowledge to create a world where conflicts are solved non-violently and build a sustainable environment. The philosophy teaches non-violence, love compassion and reverence for all life” (2012:11). The philosophy component is according to this explanation laden with values believed to, when upheld, defend peaceful existence against violence. Page provides us with a succinct definition: “The philosophy of peace education can be defined, most simply, as the elaboration of reasons why we ought to be committed to peace education” (Page 2008). Implied in the philosophy of peace education is also its transformational potential “changing social structures and patterns of thought that have created it” (Reardon 1988: x). ‘Patterns of thought’ one may suggest would also include core values, beliefs and philosophies explaining our human situation.

Going further, Dudiak reflects on the philosophical thinking of Levinas on peace and education: “But peace, in so far as there will be peace, must according to Levinas, begin in me, in my being taught, in my responsibility for the other as other. Teaching peace means, therefore, first of all being taught, learning, to be peaceful, knowing how to serve. Teaching remains fundamentally a matter of learning, and teaching peace fundamentally a matter of prophetic life, a calling of the other to the peace to which he or she already testifies” (Dudiak in Egèa Kuehne 2008:245). The person harbouring the ambition to engage in peace education should then acquire the humble attitude of a student and a servant and himself or herself embody the message of peace. Dudiak continues: “A culture of peace would thus, according to Levinas, have as its condition of possibility the ethical relation with the other, my being taught, and education. But education of a particular kind: ‘Society does not proceed from the contemplation of the true; truth is made possible by relation, which is justice. Justice consists

in recognising in the Other my master'" (Dudiak in Egèa Kuehne 2008:247). Emphasising the relational aspect, Dudiak (and earlier Levinas) zoom in on the very basic value of esteeming others higher than oneself, independently of who is the teacher or the student. With this mind-set one is more concerned about other's rights than one's own, and from this understanding justice flows organically. One is not depriving others of their rights. And this is to be expressed also in the peace education situation.

2.5.4. ROBUSTNESS OF THE CONCEPT OF PEACE EDUCATION

Peace education philosophy is still regarded by some authors as a relatively immature field, however. Page for instance is one of them: "At a fundamental level, one of the problems for peace education is the dearth of a developed educational rationale or philosophy of peace education. One of the reasons for this is that those are involved in peace education are likely to see the need for peace education as obvious, and thus the temptation is to see the need to articulate a philosophy of peace education as unnecessary. However, one of the marks of any valid educational endeavour is the existence of a developed educational rationale. Without such a rationale, peace education can be dismissed as indoctrination or political correctness (Page 2010:2). An example of such criticism is found in Gur-Ze'ev's scathing critique of current mainstream peace education: "As an ultimate goal, the justifications common in current peace education not only serve the current hegemony … and various violences that threaten genuine responsibility, freedom and creativity: peace education, actually, is one of the most advanced manifestations of these violences and is a serious threat to human edification" (Gur-Ze'ev 2011:87). If we are to believe Gur-Ze'ev, current conventional peace education in its manifold expressions are found wanting in the philosophical framework, as seen in the fact that peace education of this kind still do not challenge the underlying violent structures of today's societies, but rather provide 'cosmetic' efforts to reduce violence in its different forms.

Other sceptics highlight the positivist influences on peace education philosophy, or at least implied philosophical ideas. Among those are Bekerman and Zembylas, who contend that: "many peace educational initiatives echo modern white Western totalizing conceptualizations, mostly expressed in essentialized conceptions of juridified human rights and positivistic perspectives of 'truth'. Moreover, they identify the individual mind as the locus of the illness which needs to be treated. The treatment, in the best positivist psychologized tradition, is to be offered to solipsistic individuals, while ignoring contextual and historical factors: 'fix' the 'sick' (e.g., nationalist, racist) mind of troubled individuals, and then you overcome the conflict and you have peace (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2011:26). The risk of overemphasising one aspect of the peace education thinking is here clearly stated. One would however argue that many a contextual and structural factor have changed to the better as a result of changed thinking of individuals and groups of individuals. To encourage changes in non-productive attitudes may not always be enough, but it is never wrong *per se*. Shapiro agrees with Bekerman and Zembylas concerning the sometimes simplistic positivist stance. He holds that when addressing the way we view our situation, it is imperative to acknowledge

how subjectively we experience things: “A culture of peace does not mean a world without differences. On the contrary, to educate for peace means to take very seriously the way that our different social positions produce very different understandings of reality. It is an extraordinary consequence of post-positivist philosophy that we can now recognize to an unprecedented degree the way that reality is about how people perceive things rather than about ascertaining what is objectively there. The truth of our situation cannot easily be separated from the way that we make sense of it, especially when we have important emotional, ideological, or material interests at stake. With this in mind it becomes very difficult to talk about eliciting just the facts, as if the facts can be extricated from the passionate investments that we have in seeing and making sense of our experience in a particular way (Shapiro 2002:3rd page of downloaded version). Does this thinking relativize the whole area of conflict resolution and peace building? No, it does necessarily relativize the truth about a situation but this outlook can help sensitizing us to the diversity of perspectives, which is needed for proper perspective coordination and constructive reflection of own narratives as well as those of the other party. A strategy aiming at tackling perspectives would gain strength when embedded in a peace education philosophy that embraces this way of handling perceptions.

How could one then construct a robust philosophical platform? Proposing a complementary and perhaps interdependent approach Page states that “Ultimately, however, any single ethical foundation for peace education must be regarded as incomplete. What is needed is a holistic approach to peace education, involving all possible philosophical rationales for peace education. Rather than seeing any one ethical foundation as being complete in itself, each should be regarded as complementary to the others” (Page 2008:188). Page offers five ethical pillars for peace education: “virtue ethics, consequentialist ethics, conservative political ethics, aesthetics ethics and the ethics of care. It is argued that none of these is conclusive in themselves, but each is part of a whole and credible rational for peace education” (Page 2010:2). Page also acknowledges philosophical classics such as the Kantian Imperative, applied to peace education within the frame of duty by educational scholar James Calleja (Page 2010:2), however the question is how this integrated or complementary proposal would look like. Page does not provide an explanation here, and perhaps his intention is to open the dialogue with the scholarly community as a first step.

Galtung raises piercing questions on the rationale of peace education that actually relate to Kant. Though goals are necessary for peace education interventions, at a theoretical and philosophical level the peace education theorist or practitioner needs to decide what overarching goals can be regarded compatible and strived for collectively: “For instance, is it possible to have both absence of direct violence, equity in social interaction, *and* freedom for a considerable degree of human self-expression or self-realization?” (Galtung 1973/1975:330, orig. emphasis). According to Galtung many claim that we can strive for only two or even only one of these goals. The tension between individual freedom and inter-personal harmony is a classic philosophical question. Do we need to wrestle with this philosophical dilemma in order

to find new ground-breaking peace education theories as well as interventions? Galtung believes so. One way forward to facilitate development of personal freedom without infringing of the freedom of others could be the fostering of character formation, such that restraint of expression of freedom is favoured when the freedom of the other it at risk as a consequence of the freedom of self.

2.5.5. THE CONCEPT OF HOPE

In a wider context Gur-Ze'ev notes that "[m]odern peace education is very much influenced by the ideas of the enlightenment and its visions of a future perfect world" (2011:105). It does not come as a surprise then that the concept of 'hope' is a recurring theme in peace education thinking. An example of this view is expressed by Bloch in the 'Principle of Hope' (1986), where his utopian discourse is embedded in concrete possibilities presenting hope as both an emotion and as a rational ability, attributing greater emphasis in the action of hope. Hope is here regarded as an empowering factor, an idea that has been adopted also within the peace education sphere: "Peace education is, innately, education for hope" (Harris & Morrison 2012:163). Moreover, as explained by te Riele "the language of hope is powerful not only in people's everyday discourses but also in education, counselling…when working with youth who are marginalized or disadvantaged, hope can be a crucial resource" (2010:35). Here one sees resonances when teaching peace education in a context of structural violence and potential utility of the notion of 'hope'. To complement this idea of hope as energizing factor, external factors have also been suggested to influence hope: "Hope is one cognitive-affective resource that has long been recognized as a psychological asset. The importance of this asset becomes greater in times of threat … A need theory of psychological well-being would predict increases in hope in times of threat. Further, one might predict specific increases in specific hopes that are driven by needs arising from specific threats. For example, hope for peace should increase in times of war and hope for the country to be more productive should increase when the productivity of a nation is challenged by a recession" (Staats & Partlo 1993). It is conceivable that external pressure could evoke mental processes of hope that in turn strengthens the abilities and resolve to overcome dire circumstances. The follow-up question would be how to stimulate this innate ability in people, and this question brings us back to the topic of educational interventions.

Here, concerns on the utility of 'hope' have been raised. Assuming a critical pedagogy perspective, Freire argues that fostering hope detached from critical understanding of the social circumstances manifested in oppression that limit action and reduce positivity among those who are disregarded and excluded can result in detrimental and damaging consequences (Freire 1998). Freire proposes perceptions in what a 'life of hope' could be, but he does not convey any thorough argument on the concept of hope, Shade argues (2006:193). On the dilemma that 'hope' normally faces, Shade states that "hoping is often conflated with wishing and thought to be some kind of magical palliative, simply invoking the language of hope does not take us very far in addressing real problems" (Shade 2006:193). It is indeed a

common argument of many sceptics and - using a more concrete example - is a common characteristic among the relegated individuals and communities. Other writers argue for 'hope' as an important motivating factor. te Riele cautions, quoting Giroux (2003), that abandoning hope is also perilous, the contrary would mean to believe that for all types of problems in life there is no remedy, leading to the conclusion that hope is lost (te Riele 2010). A clarification of what 'hope' means and how it may be applied is therefore required. One example is te Reile's conceptualisation of 'hope' aims to be practical and critical:

• "Hope is understood as robust: It stresses the importance of diagnosing problems, being informed and engaged in current socio-economic struggles previous to generating alternatives with a hopeful vision for a better society.

• Focused on hopes that are attainable: It is believed that problems can be overcome. Aquinas states that hope entails "what is agreeable, future, arduous and possible.

• Questioned in terms of its 'soundness: an ethical view is here required. Hope is here understood in terms of human welfare and it is social in its core - it pursues the best for the other" (2010: 40).

Applying these notions to the concept of 'hope' could add theoretical rigor and practical relevance of the concept, which was exactly was Freire called for (above). Consequently, the practical teaching of peace education could be guided by the notion of hope underpinned by the framework Riele suggests.

To briefly discuss 'hope' in a practical setting, and to some extent corroborate hope theory Snyder's work is illustrative. Snyder's "elaborated hope model" (2002:253) includes the three main elements: goals, pathways thoughts and agency thoughts, and is based on ample empirical data. Snyder has also created various hope scales to appraise hope in people permitting a classification of 'high hopers' and 'low hopers'. It is interesting to observe the characteristics attached to each group. Snyder argues that "Opposite to the high hopers, the low hopers are often depressed and vegetable-like in their demeanours, especially after encountering impediments" (2002:265). In this view low hopers are described as stagnant person with deficiency, which places them in disadvantage situations in life manifested in poor physical and psychological conditions as well as low academic and athletic accomplishment. The high hopers logically rate themselves higher in self-efficacy, optimism, problem solving and likely to reach their difficult goals. Snyder also makes the following observation: "Children who are physically neglected never have anyone who teaches them to think hopefully. Such neglect typically is thought to transpire in very poor families, but even some affluent families who do not attend to their children" (Snyder 2002:263). Snyder (2002) also indicated that poor families seldom teach hopeful thinking to their children, affecting them negatively to become low-hope persons. If so, then the opposite would consequently also resonate with Snyder's view - that hopefulness is possible to learn at young age, which in turn opens prospects for peace educators. From a developmental perspective Sandy (2014) argues that educating

children at early age is crucial for learning essential competencies and attitudes and it is here that peace education can enable youngsters develop a hope attitude for life and the future as well as to train children in the development of the related competencies needed for an agency effect.

The inherent tension in the concept of 'hope' between non-productive 'wishful thinking' and goal-minded determination is obvious in the discourse related above, as well perhaps in everyday experience. To both stimulate as well as harness hope as a motivating force constitute an intricate equation. The need for consolidation of the hope concept is therefore needed, and te Riele's suggested framework could provide guidance to avoid the pitfalls mentioned by Freire and Shade and others.

The discussion on philosophical ideas and theories relevant for peace education show the importance of being cognizant with the discourses from educational, developmental as well as peace research areas. Peace education theorists have an important task to consolidate specific peace education theories with philosophical frameworks, a task that will strengthen future intervention models. With this philosophical discussion in mind one can now review specific disciplines that have contributed to peace education.

2.6. DISCIPLINES CONTRIBUTING TO PEACE EDUCATION

Peace education is a dual concept: is both a research and applied discipline, and these two aspects should therefore ideally be organised and studied in parallel. The variety of ongoing conflicts have different causes, dynamics and occur in a multitude of different contexts, where some for example are political struggles, others are structural conflicts or ethnic tensions etc. It goes without saying that peace education needs to embrace and adapt to these diverse array of aspects. In addition, the peace education field has received influences from a variety of other disciplines which have contributed to both scientific investigations as well as to practice in the field.

Peace education has indeed developed into a multi-disciplinary area, something also this work to some extent testifies to. If one looks into fields that are contributing to peace education one may with Synot mention the following: "In constructing its distinctive interdisciplinary view of knowledge, peace education necessarily draws on a wide range of fields such as psychology, history, sociology, ecology, political science and economics. Moreover, peace education theorists advocate the implementation of peace education as an inclusive element of a wide range of established disciplines including physics, mathematics and other sciences as well as humanities. Most areas of knowledge in education can be incorporated towards the goals of peace education" (Synott 2005:10). Synot's educational note gives a hint of the diversity of content one could attribute to peace education and this perspective is useful to keep in mind when discussing some examples of areas that have contributed to peace

education: Communication and public space studies, developmental psychology, and moral studies.

2.6.1. COMMUNICATION AND MASS MEDIA STUDIES

In this section certain aspects of the vast area of communication studies will be discussed and the relevance for peace education in particular when it comes to stimulating interpersonal perspective taking and negotiation competences. The main topics are - The potential of enrichment of peace education by communication studies; and in the subsequent section - the public sphere and peace education.

The assertion by Fry concerning communications' place within peace education will start-off this discussion: "Nevertheless, it seems wise to investigate the ways in which secondary communication education can become more responsive to the demands placed on communicators by the social and political conditions of our time. Our best hope in this regard seems to lie in a phenomenon called peace education" (Fry 1986:76). The place of communication studies within peace education has not always been taken for granted and there is still more that can be done in this regard. Fry noticed already 1986 that "[t]he only aspect of communication that is generally included in peace education is conflict management or resolution. Conflict is certainly an important area when one considers war and peace. Yet it seems that peace educators' emphasis on nuclear war, history, and managing conflict has come at the expense of the more delicate educating of consciousness that underlies the will to engage in the search for peace" (Fry 1986:77). A more recent statement has been provided by Ellis and Warshel: "Interest in peace education and communication has increased in recent years but other than sporadic references to media or technology, there is not clear statement about what communication plays in peace education". Ellis and Warshel also point out that the overview provided by the book "Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices around the World" by Salomon and Nevo does not include the word 'communication' in the index (Salomon & Cairns 2011:135). Media and communication have so far it appears rarely been considered as a relevant and important field unfortunately, and peace education scholars have not taken interest in researching communications. The potential here is still to be found in this field. Peace education practitioners still regard the communications function as naturally or implicitly interwoven with their programs and curriculum and therefore ignoring the need for a specialised communications approach adapted to context.

Examples of peace education scholars mentioning the importance of communication include for instance Carter who holds that for building cooperative and compassionate communities non-violent communication is one of the techniques needed (2002:49). In the same vein Johnson and Johnson proposing that effective cooperation need to be structured and indicate communication skills as important element the process of collective work (2010). In a discussion on a specific school intervention Danesh observes: "The necessary interface, communication, dialogue and joint activities—essential for removing the stereotypes, misconceptions and flawed information that many of the teachers, students and parents had

about the 'other' groups— had not yet taken place between members of participating school communities" (2006:59). Concerning theoretically more advanced considerations on communication theory in educational context Cabezudo and Haavelsrud give an important contribution: "[t]he voices of all learners in dialogue are therefore necessary in peace education. These voices blend into a chorus of communications… [and] is characterized by codification and de-codification processes in which everyday life is discussed in educational interactions" (Cabezudo & Haavelsrud 2013:5). This notion highlights the intricate structure of communicative interactions described already in the education research, but here also incorporated in the peace education discourse. This is true not only for the pedagogical situation but a main topic under study in peace education interventions: conflict handling. Here, there are many psychological processes involved in the process of handling and resolving conflicts as well as in the promotion of peace itself, for example the aspect of identity, forgiveness and reconciliation and the capacity to mutual understanding and the role of emotions, which when expressed constitute an important form of communication for effective positive interactions between people. As for all social interactions communication is obviously crucial for any process itself that requires the engagement of at least two people or groups or countries. What is communicated covers is more however than just verbal messages.

Deutsch et al. (2014) proposed some themes that pertain any conflict at interpersonal, intergroup or international level, these queries are associated with fundamental processes have been researched in social psychology: such as cooperation, competition, social justice, motivation, social justice, trust, language and communication and the list goes on. Here the focus is placed on communication and language. It is common knowledge that defective communication provokes confusion, which facilitates generation of conflict that itself frequently leads to interruption of the dialogue. But how can this phenomenon be addressed more specifically? The following questions raised Deutsch may lead in the right direction: "What are the characteristics of effective communication in terms of the communicator and the listener? What can be done to develop such a communication? … What role does language usage play in affecting the course of conflict? Do metaphors, images and words relating to war and competition for example battle, struggle, fight, coercion, defeat, enemy, suspicion, dominate the discourse, or does the language use reflect terms related to cooperation and peace for example constructive controversy, problem solving, creativity, mutual, enlightenment, persuasion, trust?" (2014:8). Deutsch's et al. questions are not only for professional communicators but are pertinent for everyday life and could help in addressing or preventing conflicts at different levels. This motivates an assessment of the communications area in relation to usability within peace education.

That peace education involves communication can be argued by means of transmitting messages that are intended to build bridges and nurture relationships at an interpersonal level. These messages are thoughts ideas, questions, misunderstandings, needs, dreams, frustrations and feelings expressed through various communication channels that aim to

cause an effect in the interlocutors' existence so that a peaceful response will be facilitated through a communication process where the interlocutors take a transparent and constructive approach to attain a satisfactory outcome.

Communication skills have been mentioned in the scholarly discourse of peace education as useful to improve interpersonal relations, settle conflicts (Harris 1996, 2011, 2013), enhance cooperation (Synott 2005) cooperation (Johnson & Johnson 2010) compassionate communities (Carter 2002) etc. Interestingly, Kupermintz and Salomon (2005) argue that conflict resolution programs focusing creativity and emotional communicational competencies are not sufficient for contexts of intractable conflict where the problem is more a matter of intergroup mutual understanding. In response, one may suggest that communication both as a style and a competency is indeed a highly relevant matter to be taken into account when seeking mutual understanding. An example is seen in Hantho's et al., research carried on mutual understanding as a communication model for general medical practice, where they conclude: ''In short, in communication it is necessary to distinguish between the subject of the communication, the situation in which the communication takes place, the persons between whom the communication takes place, and the action through which the communication takes place. None of these phenomena can exist alone or be understood alone...But this does not mean that distinguishing between them would not have a clarifying effect'' (2002:245). Hanto et al. continue explaining that communication emerges as a reciprocal exhibition of 'models' performed in a relatively intentional manner so that the counterpart may understand the message as you see them yourself (2002).

Using the frame of peace education one would argue that peace education as a process of inculcating and advancing peace through respect for life, peaceful conflict handling, increased understanding of the other's perspective, intergroup respectful interactions and cooperation at all levels cannot avoid but to recognise communication as intertwined in the process of promoting peace. Acknowledging perspectives of the other is also a hallmark of interpersonal understanding, and here we would like to add the importance of communication when coordinating perspectives between two or more individuals or parties. The next step is then to consider communication for the specific interpersonal perspective taking context of negotiation, in particular for developing negotiation skills. According to Putnam and Roloff (1992), negotiation is a special form of communication that centers on perceived incompatibilities and focuses on reaching mutually acceptable agreements. In fact, negotiation and communication are inherently intertwined; negotiation cannot occur without some means of communication. Essential to developing a more stable peace is appreciating that conflict is a normal process of communication and adjustment among human beings (Rummel 1991). One can here this argue that communication is a powerful instrument that can be effectively utilised by learners in their process of achieving peaceful agreements as they negotiate and reach their entitlements, which consequently merits both communication and negotiation skills in peace education curricula.

Having considered the relevance of interpersonal communication for peace education the following discussion examines the concept of the public sphere, which a sociological notion is belonging to the mass media research area, and its significance for peace education. For this purpose it is important to discuss the concept of democracy or 'polyarchy' meaning the rule of many. It presupposes a society in which debates and struggles between parties are steered in pursuit or in defence of power and authority. Democracy has become a central apparatus to societal development as well as to the promotion of conflict management towards peaceful resolutions. Peace education scholar Bar-Tal and Rosen argue for the need to be transparent and prepared to dialogue about topics associated with human rights, sensitivity with regard to other groups, and conflict resolution competencies affirms that this subjects are of notable importance in strengthening democracy and ought to be included in every curriculum (2009:562). To this peace education endeavour in contributing to democracy is very intimately linked is the notion of the public sphere which also seeks to strengthen democratic behaviours and undertakings. According to political philosopher Jürgen Habermas (2001) every ideal liberal democratic society has room for a 'public sphere' allowing citizens to engage in free, rational and critical debates. Here, everyone has an equal right to speak irrespective of social position and material resources, and through rational debate untenable arguments and positions are given up or changed. Habermas asserts that 'opinion formation associations' - voluntary associations, groups of concerned citizens, grass roots movements, etc, energise the public deliberation. Though a recent phenomenon in human history, Habermas' concept infers that freedom of speech is a natural right, this is not the case, the fact is that it entails an infrastructure reinforcing of civil regulations together with wide-ranging consciousness to safeguard this important right.

Habermas' conceptualisation of the public sphere has expanded the thinking about the role of media in society. Media is regarded as the fourth pillar of democracy, it is played out by being the 'watch dog' of society as it safeguards the right to information and freedom of speech which is fundamental for good governance, and moreover, can effectively support peace processes and promote conflict resolution dynamics. Habermas also develops the representative function of media through the involvement of the public sphere, which in his view is the most important duty the media must fulfil. Thus, the public sphere provides a platform for contestation and argumentation, where citizens can freely express their views and objections without any fear of intimidation or control by the government on important policy issues and proceedings. Adequately represented all members of society will feel that they belong and have an active role in the development of their lives and of their society. The public sphere dialogues interprets civil society's pressing needs, present frustrations and desires for their future, and by doing so disagreements can be discussed and hostilities can be aired in a constructive way so that peaceful steps forward toward positive resolutions can be reached.

Acknowledging that the media as a vehicle for the public sphere in many instances does not up to its most important duty has been commented by many. Habermas argues that 'citizens'

often are reduced to mere media consumers with no access to real debates and appropriate discourses, therefore shrinking the public to mere passive recipients of information. Habermas argues that "[i]nasmuch as the mass media today strip away the literary husks from the kind of bourgeois self-interpretation and utilize them as marketable forms for the public services provided in a culture of consumers, the original meaning is reversed" (Habermas 1991:171). The original meaning of the public sphere concept ought to be played out by the media, which on the contrary finds itself in a state of crisis. Or in the words of Durham and Kellner: "The idea of the public sphere, preserved in the social welfare state mass democracy, an idea which calls for a rationalization of power through the medium of public discussion among private individuals, threatens to disintegrate with the structural transformation of the public sphere itself. It could only be realized today, on an altered basis, as a rational reorganization of social and political power under the mutual control of rival organizations committed to the public sphere in their internal structure as well as in their relations with the state and each other" (Durham & Kellner 2001:78).

The transparency and accessibility of the 'ideal' public sphere on the other hand, should allow and multiply interpersonal interactions with exchanges of perspectives. One would therefore argue that the public sphere concept is indeed aligned with fundamental ideals championed by peace education practitioners and theorists alike. One could suggest that engaging the concept of the public sphere in peace education discourses can promote a culture of dialogue and peace among peace education students. We conclude that communications studies can further enrich peace education curricula in the interpersonal context as well as concerning the broadly transmitted public space.

2.6.2. DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

From a developmental psychology standpoint Oppenheimer (in Salomon & Cairns 2011) argues that in peace education literature children's attitudes and values in relation to peaceful perspectives are astonishingly uncommon. In fact a decline in research on children and adolescents has been noted according to Oppenheimer. Earlier Hakvoort and Oppenheimer (1998) reported that peace research with children and adolescents has targeted problems dealing with psychosomatic effects of conflicts and violence, youths' opinions toward nuclear war and views on particular warfare, also their political stands and conceptions of peace and war, as well as the evaluation and recovery of childhood traumas caused by violent conflicts. One reason for the limited theoretical research in the specific area of developmental psychology is because the majority of enquiries on children's perception of peace and war has been mainly exploratory. Theoretical standpoints used to study the development of children's understanding about peace and war and theoretical concepts of political socialization is the oft-used Piagetian cognitive developmental theory as well as Selman's (1980) developmental model of interpersonal understanding (Hakvoort & Oppenheimer 1998), which to a great extent itself is a Piagetian derivative.

Enmity is a core psychological peace education notion dealing with social identity, collective narrative as well as tolerance as discussed by Oppenheimer. He observes that a research carried out in Holland about the understanding of enmity is remarkably well developed already among seven-year olds. Older children have been shown to expand the perception of enemies to include fictive or more abstract figures and that enemies are more often associated with threats to the older children than to younger ones, as shown by older children's reactions containing strong elements of anger. Contexts of war and other types of violence may indeed give concrete shapes to previously abstract enemy images as has been described in areas of conflict as reviewed by Oppenheimer. He concludes that "[t]hese findings suggest that experience of negative emotions (e.g., fear, anger, and rage) play an important role in identifying others as a cause for such emotions and to perceive others as threatening and as a 'potential' enemy" (in Salomon & Cairns 2011:113). It is clear that negative emotions play an important role also with respect to the identification of others as "potentially" threatening (in Salomon & Cairns 2011:114). These studies have highlighted how children's understanding of for instance peace and enemy concepts may appear at different stages and are but few examples of important developmental psychology contributions to the growing peace education body of knowledge.

It is here concluded that insights gleaned in the developmental psychology area would lend themselves for peace education models where children and adolescents are under study. Indeed, the main focus of the current study considers Selman's (1980) models describing development of interpersonal perspective taking and negotiation skills in a peace education setting.

2.6.3. MORAL EDUCATION

The affinity between moral education and peace education can be found in the ambition to teach values that are beneficial for the individual and for society. Peace education focuses on the permanence of peace in its manifold expressions, which can be promoted by various educational strategies, and moral education can here provide insights on relevant content and format for such interventions.

Our main source for this discussion is Maxwell's and Reichenbach's work on educating moral emotions. Their focus is on analysing three key sub-questions within the area of educating moral emotions in order to shed light on possible routes for further enhancements of moral education methodology. The three aspects Maxwell and Reichenbach discuss are the following:

- Are emotions appropriate objects of moral-educational attention?
- Can emotions be regulated, shaped or guided using educational as opposed to non-educational means, and if so how?
- What techniques can be employed in moral education practice? (Maxwell & Reichenbach 2007:147-148)

In general pedagogical approaches can be divided into pedagogies of autonomy or pedagogies of control. The former category strives to enable the child to take independent moral decisions and in addition to take third-person perspective of own decisions or desires. Pedagogies of control on the other hand aim to steer the child morally in a direction that is regarded desirable in society. Needless to say, Maxwell and Reichenbach elaborate further on the potential of pedagogies of autonomy, and here they distinguish three main strategies conducive of furthering autonomous moral development of the child: "The first consists in requests to imagine other's emotional reactions. The second comprises requests to imitate normative emotional reactions and the third to re-appraise the features of a situation that are relevant to an emotional response" (Maxwell & Reichenbach 2007:147).

2.6.3.1. Imagination

'Imagination' refers to stimulating the child's ability to put oneself in the other person's shoes, here with emphasis on recognizing the emotions of the other person. Here, sympathy and compassion are emphasised as particular moral emotions, as they express engagement in a troubled person (orig. emphasis). Maxwell and Reichenbach explain how these emotions can spur us morally: "In regards to moral motivation, moral emotions may: (i) provide a motivational counterweight to a harmful intention by contributing to feelings of guilt or shame either at the prospect of harming another (cf. Hoffman, 2000); or (ii) motivate actions that are intended to alleviate perceived suffering (i.e., 'pro-social', 'helping' or 'altruistic' behaviours" (Maxwell & Reichenbach 2007:154). Referring to Nodding's 'care ethics', Maxwell and Reichenbach hold that a caring perspective can actually be cultivated within any study subject, where moral education stands out only in the emphasis on the ethic ideal behind the caring attitude, which in turn is facilitated on sensitization to moral emotions. Related to this discussion on imagination is the notion of 'social reversibility'. This concept denotes the possibility to reconsider a stance taken against another person, group or nation and, according to Oser et al. "leads to the criteria for specific moral standards; they become the basis for the main goal of peace education" (Oser et al. 2011:155). Oser et al. advocate a strong link between morality, reversibility and peace education: "If morality is based on reversibility, peace education is a content-specific reversibility stimulation. And war and immorality from one or the other side go hand in hand" (Oser et al. 2011:156). The developmental perspective is important for Oser et al. How can we educate peace if we do not understand how children and adolescents reason about war and peace they ask. The authors refer to Kohlberg's description of reversibility as equilibrium, where he describes reciprocal perspective taking as a means to sift claims in relation to the other party's position or need. Oser et al. also subscribe to Kohlberg's idea that the degree of reversibility is directly proportional to the height of the stage and actually add further differentiation within Kohlberg's stages. One can see that reversibility, which in itself contains the concept of imagination, hence appears to lend itself to both models describing morality in relation to peace, as well as to established developmental frameworks like Kohlberg's.

2.6.3.2. Imitation

Coming back to Maxwell and Reichenbach, they continue with the second educational strategy - 'imitation'. The idea is to imitate the emotional response that is regarded morally compatible with the situation when a person may harbour no such feelings, other non-compatible feelings or appropriate feelings to lesser degree than expected. Maxwell and Reichenbach refer this strategy as 'sentimental-education strategy', which appears to subscribe to the notion that enacting appropriate emotional responses will with time create a pattern of spontaneous inducing of those same appropriate responses to the situation in question.

Practically, this can be applied by imagining situations that can stimulate desired emotions, avoiding stimuli that may provoke non-desired emotions, and finally, techniques to curb undesired actions as a result of emotional events. The authors relate these imitation strategies with the related educational field 'character education', where "proponents of character education rally around the belief that the formation of moral dispositions is a vital part of moral education and ascribe to a comprehensive definition of character which views character as comprising dispositions of thought, action and feeling" (Maxwell & Reichenbach 2007:158). Imitation should however be understood, according to Maxwell and Reichenbach as a conscious striving to foster development of a more appropriate emotional makeup, rather than merely doing what is right because it is regarded appropriate. We would here argue however, that also the latter type of efforts can refine and sensitize a person emotionally in a morally desirable direction. Lan's et al. study suggests a connection between values and morality: "One contribution from our results is to reveal evidence of a systematic relationship of value types with not only moral intent (to achieve a motivational goal) but also moral judgment" (Lan et al. 2008:135). One could here propose that conscious emotional conditioning may enforce value consciousness internally which in turn directs moral judgment. If so, there is a powerful link between emotional and cognitive faculties that can enhance moral development. Educational interventions, i.e. peace education, should in that case take emotive as well as cognitive aspects into account when addressing moral development.

2.6.3.3. Re-appraisal

Re-appraisal of emotional reactions involves questioning the appropriateness of those responses, and this aspect constitutes the third and final educational strategy Maxwell and Reichenbach relates in their discussion on educating moral emotions. This strategy is based on the insight that our emotional responses may distort moral judgement and hence a cognitive strategy is called for to regulate these responses. Thus, re-appraisal complements imagination and imitation: "Whereas imagination is concerned with the attitudes and feelings connected with a moral outlook, and imitation is concerned with habituation into a more-or-less pre-given ideal of moral character and conduct, re-appraisal is concerned with justification of emotions in relation to public standards of rationality and as a dimension of

moral perception and moral motivation" (Maxwell & Reichenbach 2007:159). Here the authors see the affinity of cognitive re-appraisal with Kohlberg's theory on moral development (1958). Kohlberg envisioned a cognitive process that eventually leads to morally mature individuals that judge moral behaviour in a rational and 'sociocultural-independent' way (1958, 1978). One observes from Kohlberg's theory his usage of 'justice' as rationally justifiable reference point for morally appropriate behaviour. We could here briefly interject that justice, at least as operationalized through the 'Universal Charter of Human Rights', also belong to our present day heritage and near-global cultural tradition. Does this notion of rationally detached analysis of moral dilemmas contradict the previously advocated moral benefit of appropriate emotions? Not necessarily according to the authors. As long as the morally reflecting and feeling person commits himself or herself to judge the moral emotions evoked in different situations. This resulting tension implied in Maxwell's and Reichenbach's (2007) outline of reason versus emotion as regulator of moral judgment is worthy of further reflection and investigation. One issue to address would be the developmental relevance of promoting imagination, imitation and re-appraisal. Pondering on others' feelings as well as third-person perspective taking of one's own motives requires certain level of interpersonal understanding. In sum, one finds here a helpful characterization of educational strategies with the typologies imagination, imitation and re-appraisal that all are pertinent to peace education approaches, particularly within the interpersonal level.

To briefly expand the discussion on morality and peace to inter-state relations, one relates the discourse on possible moral reasons behind the historical fact that democracies tend to abstain from militarily attacking other. An argument proposed by Tomz and Weeks and based on empirical findings, states that avoiding armed conflict with another democracy is dependent on values rather than expectations on gain or loss of a conflict (Tomz & Weeks 2013). The authors thus suggest: "The foreign and domestic policies of democracies reflect the will of the people. Knowing this, people in democracies will feel morally reluctant to overturn policies that the citizens of other democracies have chosen freely. Coercively interfering with another democracy would, by this argument, count as an illegitimate assault on the freedom and self-determination of individuals" (Tomz & Weeks 2013:4). The argument brings us again back to the individual and the perception of other individuals belonging to another group – in this case embarking from a moral standpoint. The interpersonal perspective, and coordination thereof, would also (at least indirectly) play a role at the macro-level, which is of course an idea that fits squarely in peace educational interventions. The perspective held about another state is hereby differentiated and enriched to 'multi-personal' perspective, allowing inclusion of moral factors in the equation. How could one apply this also in democratic countries in conflict with non-democratic ones? One could for instance envisage stimulating peace education students to use the imagination strategy outlined above to reflect on an armed conflict's negative effects on the other country's prospects to develop into a democracy, and in particular the long-term effect on the citizens of that country. One may hence see a common pattern in possible peace education strategies to encourage

personalization of the other party/parties involved in a conflict or risking a conflict and that this connects theoretical frameworks between peace education and moral education.

2.7. CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Central to peace education discourse and practice is the subject of conflict resolution, applied at a wide range of contexts from international to interpersonal relations. For this work with its focus on negotiation competences in the context of peace education the understanding of conflict and conflict resolution in a broader scholarly discourse is essential. The following discussion will give an overview of the conflict resolution field followed by zooming in on the relevance of conflict resolution at the interpersonal level and how it relates to negotiation and mediation competences.

2.7.1. BACKGROUND AND DEFINITIONS

As with peace education, conflict resolution is both a scientific research field as well as practice, which was established after World War II and is closely related to the field conflict research. Making the historic perspective even wider, Welch and Baker describes an interesting trend where different forms of social control and arbitration has first moved away from community-level functions to state-based monopolies as seen in political, legislatory and judicial operations, followed by a contemporary movement to national and international NGOs of various kinds as well as to local communities. It is in this context one should discuss peace movements and initiatives, including conflict resolution according to Welch and Baker (2010). Starting by defining conflict Thomas' definition is to the point: "I defined conflict as 'the process which begins when one party perceives that another has frustrated, or is about to frustrate, come concern of his'" (Thomas 1992:265). Thomas is however well aware that no complete scholarly consensus on how to define conflict has been reached (1992:269). Words occurring in the discourses include competition, tensions, disputes, opposition, antagonism, quarrel, disagreement, controversy and violence (Fink, 1968). Recent definitions that recurrently appear in the literature include interdependence, interference and obstruction (Deutsch et al. 2014) and in Barki and Hartwick's definition of interpersonal conflict the terms are grouped as "disagreement, negative emotion, or interference" (2004:218) Thus, similar terms such as disagreement and interference are preferred when describing conflict. Discussing concepts one agrees with Barki and Hartwick who observe that many scholars have not clarified the selected terms neither have they interacted with other colleague's conceptualizations elucidating similarities or differences.

Now we move to the conflict itself, when does a conflict start? The starting point is the awareness a conflict is at hand. Referring to Thomas' conflict definition above, he comments on this phase thus: "This definition was broad enough to include a wide variety of conflict phenomena, but specified a beginning point for the conflict process – i.e. the point when other social processes (e.g. decision-making, discussion) 'switched over' into conflict" (Thomas 1992:265) - or switched over into conflict mode one may add.

Moving on to conflict resolution one can borrow the following definition from the area of conflict theory: “Thus we can preliminarily define conflict resolution as a situation where the conflicting parties enter into an agreement that solves their central incompatibilities, accept each other’s continued existence as parties and cease all violent action against each other. This means, of course, that conflict resolution is something that necessarily comes after conflict. It means that we first need to have concept and tools for the analysis of conflict” (Wallensteen 2002:8). When peace is understood as merely absence of violence (similar to ‘negative peace’ discussed above) then Wallensteen holds that conflict resolution goes beyond peace. If one would qualify peace by including positive values like “cooperation, justice and integration” then the scope of conflict resolution broadens considerably, which is in fact the recent trend in settlements of international conflicts Wallensteen observes (Wallensteen 2002:10-11). This thinking expressed by Wallensteen well fits with the views on peace transcending ceasing of violent aggression as well as with Galtung’s positive peace concept. One could also argue that this broader definition of conflict understanding lends itself to models describing preventive measures in relation to conflict.

In this context one could also add the term conflict management, distinct to conflict resolution, which according to Azar, involve other initiatives not aiming to solve the conflict directly but activities that could prepare for a resolution down the line (Azar 1990:127). Conflict management appears to overlap to a related concept, conflict transformation, defined as follows: “[A] process of proactively engaging a dispute, social problem, or ideological clash with the goals of (1) recasting the conflict or uncertainty into recognizable or realistic components, (2) tempering disputes, (3) guiding disputes through purposive communication, (4) engendering an atmosphere of peace not contention, and (5) laying the foundation for resolving conflict” (Welch & Baker 2010:38).

At a deeper psychological level Kegan’s constructivist developmental approach strengthens the notion put forth by Bush et al (1994) that conflict is potentially transformational (McGuigan & Popp 2007:222). A constructivist-developmental theory (Kegan, 1982, 1994; Popp & Portnow, 2001) brings together two potent lines of human development: constructivism, the notion that people construct their reality through their engagement with their social and environmental surround—that is, that they create meaning from their experience; and developmentalism, the notion that individuals’ actual process of constructing meaning evolves through qualitatively different stages of increasing complexity. Both perspectives can be applied to conflict and the mediation process to illuminate how the disputants and the mediator construct meaning in a conflict (McGuigan & Popp 2007:223).

2.7.2. CONFLICT TYPES

The diversity of the conflict resolution research field also stems from the wide variety of conflicts taken into consideration, ranging from interpersonal to international conflicts.

According to Ramsbotham et al. is conflict "an intrinsic and inevitable aspect of social change" (2005). Moreover, any conflict may be investigated from a different scholarly angles drawing from insights garnered in different disciplines. Schellenberg gives a helpful overview of types of theories in this the social conflict area:

a. "Individual characteristics theories look at social conflict in terms of the natures of the individuals who are involved.
b. Social process theories look at conflict as a process of social interaction between individuals or groups, and seek to make generalizations about the nature of the process.
c. Social structural theories look at conflict as a product of the way society is formed and organized.
d. Formal theories seek to understand human social conflicts in logical and mathematical terms" (Schellenberg 1996:13).

We here find that our red thread, the interpersonal negotiation competences, touches on the individual characteristics of the child involved in a conflict, as well as on the social process theories in terms of negotiation as a social interaction. Finally the relevance of the social context (further developed in the empirical part with Colombia as a special case) relates to the social structures category of theories.

2.7.3. CONFLICT RESOLUTION TYPES

In a broader sense, conflict resolution my result from both conscious efforts as well as through other factors as Schellenberg (1996) notes. One will here focus on the conscious mode of conflict resolution, also known as dispute resolution (Schellenberg 1996:9). Moreover, in this thesis the interpersonal or micro-perspective is at the centre, leaving the inter-group or macro-level conflicts aside. Obviously there is a wide variety of conflicts under study and there are a number of conflict resolution subcategories that can be used to map out the area from a practitioner's perspective. The first option is of course simply to avoid the conflict. This opens up, as Porter and Taplin note, for the question on whether the dispute is solved or just postponed. One variation of this theme is to find another party to negotiate with, leaving the first party, which under some circumstances may give competitive advantages (Porter & Taplin 1987). There are however situations where a conflict goes into 'remission' and dissolves without any specific actions having been taken by either party or mediator (Porter & Taplin 1987). Below some key conflict resolution modalities outlined by Schellenberg (1996):

1. "Coercion, or forcing parties in conflict to a particular conclusion (aggression)

2. Negotiation and bargaining, or involving the parties in a process of discussion which seeks to bring them into voluntary agreement

3. Adjudication, or using the power of the state and its legal system to provide and authoritative conclusion

4. Mediation, or using a third party to help the conflicting parties come to a mutually satisfactory agreement.

5. Arbitration, or using a third party to decide, through prior mutual consent the issues in dispute (Schellenberg 1996:3;

Concerning the first option coercion can also be complemented with the most extreme - and a rare form of resolution, the complete conquest, where one party is annihilated and conflict ceases due to elimination of one party altogether (Porter & Taplin 1987). Negotiations belong to conflict resolution approaches of the 'transactional' category. Porter and Taplin mention two of negotiation sub-types: Direct Negotiations, with no need for mediator involvement; Mediation, where third party facilitates exchange without arbitration. In Schellenberg's list above negotiation and mediation are treated as separate entities, however, illustrating the relative fluidity of terminology in this field. Engaging in dialogue may also involve education, and according to Porter and Taplin "mediation is an educative act that in itself reduces intergroup conflict" (Porter & Taplin 1987:23). Here one could add the potential of mediation to also reduce interpersonal conflict, however, in this work, the research focus is on parties directly involved in the conflict and their abilities to engage in conflict resolution. Adjudication, arbitration or judicial decision on the other hand excludes the voluntary element in the conflict resolution process and is hence most often not the preferred solution by the parties involved (Porter & Taplin 1987). One could add the notion that Carnevale & Pruitt (1992) actually combine adjudication and arbitration for binding third-party decisions.

2.7.4. CONFLICT RESOLUTION AMONG CHILDREN

Much of the aforementioned aspects of conflict resolution have been written with adults' interactions in mind. The following discussion focusses children and adolescents and specifically how they deal with conflicts. From a functional perspective, it has been reported that children argue more often than adults and tend to spur arguments with heated comments on input previously given in the exchange by the other party (Maynard 1985). This in turn may reflect the fluid social organization often observed in children's communities (Maynard 1985). In this context, it is interesting to note the important observation concerning the functionality of conflicts as suggested by Maynard (1985). So far the resolution of conflicts has been focused, Maynard proposes however that many a conflict among children is not resolved but the function of the conflict instead is in its effect on the social organization in which the involved children are embedded: "The reason for the empirical lack of resolution in children's disputes is that a basic function of conflict is to achieve a concrete, particular social organization through the display of opposition and the constitution of accountable alignment structures. Such organization is accomplished with or without resolution of a dispute episode. That is, the issue displayed interactionally is not how to resolve conflict, but in what direction will the construction of social organization proceed?" (Maynard 1985:212). One example situation Maynard mentions is verbal competition between children where social positioning rather than conflict resolution is the sought outcome. Children are also 'politically' conscious

within their realm of social interactions. Based on his empirical data, Maynard argues that "[i]n their disputes, children utilize well-defined skills for exhibiting, offering, and soliciting collaboration. These skills are evident at least as early as first grade … and probably much earlier" (Maynard 1985:216). Here is Maynard found that children's referral to, or requesting involvement of external authorities, like teachers, is usually not for assistance in solving the conflict but mustering support for own position or needs in a conflict (Maynard 1985). This finding is however at slight variance with the pre-school study by Killen and Turiel (1991) who reported that in a peer group context the level of child-produced solutions was higher than in free play contexts where there is normally an adult present and children change activities more often. Nevertheless, a significant number of disputes did not reach a solution. Iskandar et al. found that even though children produced more solutions at the time they are on their own they also leave disputes unresolved more often when on their own than when an adult is present. In any case one might conclude with Killen and Turiel that that children's interpersonal exchanges and the contexts in which they take place are multidimensional or multi-factorial, which is necessary to take into account in the study of children's conflict resolution dynamics.

This functional aspect of conflicts in childhood adds another dimension to perspective taking and the ambition to facilitate development of interpersonal negotiation competencies through peace education. How would enhanced conflict resolution skills through interpersonal negotiation competences affect the dynamics of conflicts in a group of children? In this publication Maynard has not included violent episodes of conflict, but one might suggest that reduction of interpersonal aggression over time would be the case.

Are the children in Maynard's research aware that a conflict (though non-violent) is at hand and that this conflict needs resolution? Further, how would ongoing social structure formation in a group of children be influenced by accelerated development of interpersonal negotiation competences? Could one envisage a more stable, a more 'mature' conformation of relationship networks than otherwise expected? These questions have a developmental 'Selmanian' stance, but to be fair, Maynard's study has no developmental ambition and no age comparisons are made. Selman has in fact criticized other functional studies which he finds wanting from several aspects. For instance, early functional studies that focussed on information processing "did not specify a particular behavioural domain within which the social information-processing operations occur … also did not describe the process by which the operations worked together as an ordered system to match action to context … did not articulate the nature of developmental change in the operations or differentiate developmental change from stylistic variation" (Yeates & Selman 1989:70). Complementing Maynard's social functional approach with a developmental like Selman's could be very interesting. A further study could compare the conflicts between small social groups of different ages and how the social structuring function of conflicts operates at different developmental stages.

Taking a developmental approach Sandy stresses that early childhood is a defining period apt to develop elemental social emotional conflict resolution competencies. She argues that being childhood a prominent period does not imply that these competencies are ready on the contrary there is a need to uninterrupted sharpening through all phases of life (2014). Social emotional learning narratives and conflict resolution education both are examples of approaches profoundly engaged in the development of children's competencies to resolve conflicts. One find that the literature indicates the development of essential competencies such as interpersonal relations, communication and dialogue, empathy and perspective taking, self-awareness and self-assertiveness, the role of emotions etc. (Deutsch 1973, Stevahn 2004, Mnookin 1996, Harris 2003).

Acquiring these capabilities may take place earlier in development than previously thought. Killen's and Turiel's pre-school study (1991) investigated what kind of social interactions among children result in disputes. Other aspects scrutinised included the degree of friendly responses when others complaint and how conflicts are settled. The findings revealed that children take receptive attitudes toward others' complains and settle disputes themselves: "These findings are consonant with recent research showing that, in contrast with earlier portrayals of them as primarily selfish, egoistic, and impulsive, pre-schoolers are socially oriented. Young children are aware of the perspectives of others, evaluate rule violations, such as hitting and not sharing, as wrong on the basis of negative consequences to others and often display altruistic behaviours" (Killen & Turiel 1991:254). These findings resonate with findings from an experimental study by Iskandar et al. that showed that conflicts among pre-school children are not limited to unfriendly or violent behaviours. On the contrary: "The majority of children indicated an overwhelming preference for negotiation over power assertion and disengagement" (Iskandar et al. 1995:367). How you define 'negotiation' may off course vary in regard to the level of refinement required for the interpersonal interaction, but there appears to be a tension between Iskandar's results and the view that pre-school children mainly behave using unilateral interpersonal operations, as suggested by Selman (1980). In their discussion on conflicts as normal routes for sophistication of perspectives on oneself, other individuals and relationships, Johnson and Johnson states: "Conflict is the mechanism by which children and adolescents acquire new cognitive structure, developing new perspectives and stage-like shifts in patterns of reasoning which result in changes in behaviour toward parents and peers. The new behaviour patterns create new conflicts, as roles and normative expectations are renegotiated. Negotiation is thus viewed as requiring advanced stages of reasoning and being the most cognitively sophisticated conflict resolution strategy" (1996:464). Here it appears that these authors use a more complex operationalization of the term negotiation than Iskandar does when describing his pre-school material. In any case, one may suggest that pre-school children's capacities to engage in resolving a conflict as demonstrated in these studies presents an opportunity to take another lens. Instead of assuming the role of 'police-mediator' at the first hint of a conflict, the immediate adult may to a greater extent entrust conflict resolution responsibilities to the children and facilitate when necessary. Moreover, interventions that target children's independent conflict

resolution potential including negotiation-type strategies could possible find a more fertile ground than earlier thought.

Finally a note of caution: One needs to take into account that when children's behaviour and views are under study the researcher must as far as possible refrain from transferring adult patterns of reasoning when interpreting the children's perceptions of conflict. How do children actually understand and reason about conflicts and conflict resolution? For instance, when a researcher interprets a conflict as left unresolved, could children in contrast regard the conflict as resolved from their perspective?

2.7.5. CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN PEACE EDUCATION

After the discussion on psychological and social models of children's conflict resolution a brief description follows on certain applied theories within conflict resolution that have been incorporated in peace education and examples of conflict resolution pedagogy in peace education programs.

Taking the US case as an example, conflict resolution programs in schools go back more than 50 years and a variety of approaches have been documented. Johnson and Johnson describe ways these interventions have been categorized. One way is to distinguish programs that directly reach the whole student population from programs that target a small group, who then cascade the conflict resolution ideas and practice through engaging in peer mediation, the cadre approach. Another way to describe conflict resolution initiatives is to differentiate programs that teach about conflicts and peaceful conflict resolution strategies, form those programs that focus on peer mediation. The last categorization model mentioned by Johnson and Johnson is the grouping of interventions into skills-oriented, academically oriented varieties or structural change varieties, where the latter strategy strives to promote cooperative organization conducive of both more effective team-work as well as of conflict resolution (1996). Below follows brief description of examples of educational approaches to conflict resolution.

2.7.5.1. Restorative Justice

Cremin (2013) argues that restorative justice and its input in educational systems have become an important area of research lately, which has also fed into the area of peace education. Scholars studying restorative justice focus their work on the principles of repairing damage and restoring relationships. O'Connell (2004) contrasts this with a traditional adversarial (blame) approach, which he summarises as "what happened, who is to blame, what punishment or sanction is needed?" (McCluskey, et al. 2008:199). Restorative justice in contrast views the parties involved in a conflict from a more holistic perspective: "Restorative practices can in this sense offer a non-pathologising approach which emphasises the human wish to feel safe, to belong, to be respected and to understand and have positive relationships with others. More importantly perhaps, it offers a clear framework for development of these

approaches, within which pupils (and staff) can acknowledge the potential of social and experiential learning approaches that enable all involved to understand and learn to manage their interactions with others" (McCluskey, et al. 2008:212). How could these principles be implemented in practice? McCluskey suggests the following essential aspects:

- "The importance of fair process;
- The recognition of the rights, and involvement where possible, of all parties in dispute or conflict resolution;
- The notion of restoration or reparation instead of retribution;
- The importance of developing empathy for others in preventing and responding to conflict or violence;
- The valuing of the views of all parties in open discussion;
- The effectiveness of circles for exchanging views, expressing feelings or resolving issues;
- The importance of the language (often scripted) used in addressing conflict and resolving disputes" (McCluskey, et al. 2008:207).

2.7.5.2. Analytical Conflict Transformation

Another approach to address conflict resolution in school settings has been presented by Welch and Baker is the Analytical Conflict Transformation model (ACT). As noted above conflict transformation is not identical with conflict resolution but the structure of the ACT model is very informative also for our purposes. Thus, ACT is described as a matrix for analysis of a conflict, based on the basic tenet that the conflict can be understood and explained based on the adversaries' respective comprehension and understanding of the situation. With these components clearly identified, they can be deconstructed through deductive and inductive analyses in order to find substitute humane measures (Welch & Baker 2010).

2.7.5.3. Conflict Resolution in Peace Education Curriculum

After the examples of conflict resolution theories mentioned above, follows a brief description of pedagogic applications. First a brief note on the scholarly 'roots' of peace education and conflict resolution pedagogy. Hedeen (2005) emphasises the importance of Montessori, Dewey, and Freire - three pioneering educators whose work also are highly relevant for conflict resolution and peace education. Hedeen points to the contributions in terms of the promotion interaction and dialogue with the pupils, progressive development of social competencies are contributions as a heritage from Montessori. Community and democracy and learning from experience are pedagogical ideas brought to us by Dewey, and Freire invites critical dialogues through problem inquiry and capacity building in educational settings. One

would here agree with Hedeen on the relevance of the insights from the educational area in for the specific field of conflict resolution research and practice. Carter (2010) outlines conflict resolution elements that lend themselves to a peace education programme:

- Roots of violence
- Types of violence (intrapersonal, interpersonal and systemic)
- Transformation of violence into peace
- Peace-making in violent conflicts
- Peace building in non-violent conflicts
- Non-violent addressing of conflicts

One can here add Carter's American example showing how conflict resolution has been represented in peace education syllabi during the first decade of this century. One notes the broad range of subjects incorporated into conflict resolution ranging from macro-level topics to interpersonal communication and intra-personal psychologic processes. Important is the ethos on building competences through the pedagogical interventions. From the teacher's perspective however it might appear as a daunting task. Carter highlights some of the major challenges school teachers encounter when they are requested to provide peace education to their students. Insufficient training and limited availability of adequate literature and other teaching material is unfortunately a relatively common experience for teachers. In addition, guidance through educational policies are often poorly developed (2010) leaving the teacher to his or her own devices in many cases. Trinder's et al. comparative study in real-life school setting study also highlights the importance for comprehensive training and sustained professional development of the teachers (2010).

Table 2.1: Competences for Teaching Conflict Resolution in Schools (adapted after Carter 2010:191)

COMPETENCIES	COMPONENTS
Knowledge	Inclusive history, sources of conflict, human rights, peace history and strategies
Pluralistic acceptance	Multicultural participation and cooperation
Ethno relativism	Accommodation of and adaption to different cultural norms
Self-management	Awareness and control of personal reactions to conflict

Peaceful discourse	Analysis of language for characteristics of violence and compassion
Proactive involvement	Participation in local to global conflict transformation
Restoration	Engagement in restorative human interactions
Stewardship	Responsibility for environmental preservation and reconstruction
Envisioning	Picturing a peaceful society in the present and the future

This section has briefly surveyed the rich field of peace education and finished by looking at conflict resolution touching on the nature of conflicts, ways of handling them, and homing in on children's perspectives on conflict resolution.

Further in the scholarly literature on peace education examined there is relatively little developed on the specific competencies required for solving conflicts in relation to theoretical frameworks. Interestingly in negotiation research which is also discussed in this work, negotiation or bargaining is acknowledged as an important conflict resolution type (Schellenberg 1996) and from the peace education field Johnson & Johnson (2005) and Harris 2004. Moreover, in negotiation research literature one finds ample descriptions of studies and theoretical work-out on specific negotiation skills, which has not been researched by peace education scholars let alone among children.

One example of negotiation theorizing is Mnookin's et al. discourse on the skills 'assertiveness' and 'empathy' and their relevance both in the negotiation situation as well as for teaching negotiation skills (1996). These concepts are actually highly relevant for peace education studies and practice as well. In the current work also Selman's developmental psychology models on interpersonal perspective taking skills are discussed, adapted and considered for the peace education field.

Is it that negotiation is viewed as a competency or set of competencies only for adults and not for children to negotiate their conflicts but only for adults? Interestingly, Scott Brown brings from the field of negotiation terminology and concepts such as mutual gains and integrative negotiation to the children's world by proposing how parents should negotiate with children age two to twelve years old. His recommendations within a negation framework revolve around listening to learn and assist children coping with emotions as well as teaching children to be problem solvers (2003). Children are being empowered, develop autonomy, and respect when their parents and teachers agree to and encourage them to negotiate, already at a very young age.

A peace education topic that is popular in schools worldwide is the concept of mediation, which constitutes a critical conflict resolution type worthy of inclusion in peace education curricula. A cautious note is here however needed. Children who learn to solve conflicts only via mediation may tend to lean on third parties more than on their own capabilities. Similarly Killen & Nucci argue that children resolving disputes through retribution or mediation involve a different experience than solving a problem through compromise or negotiation and their development of autonomy will be affected (Killen & Nucci in Killen & Hart 1995). Instead, learning to take a negotiation perspective will likely help the child to develop independence and take responsibility for his or her own actions in conflicts than children that depend on a third party as mediator.

Thus, it is here argued that research on children's negotiation competencies to handle conflicts is warranted in order to strengthen peace education interventions for more pro-social environments.

Finally, recalling the notion above that the Latin term 'Pax' also signified 'treaty' or 'agreement' the relevance of peace and conflict resolution is understood and will be discussed in relation to the specific field of negotiation, in particular negotiation competences, which constitute a key theme in this research.

CHAPTER THREE: INTRODUCTION TO NEGOTIATION RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

3. INTRODUCTION TO NEGOTIATION RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

This chapter will introduce the scientific field of negotiation in the conviction that the negotiation field carries great potential as contributor to peace education particularly among children.

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will introduce the scientific field of negotiation in the conviction that the negotiation field carries great potential as contributor to peace education. Several peace education scholars have pointed out the relevance of teaching negotiation skills for children for better conflict management. Johnson and Johnson urge that "students must be taught how to engage in integrative negotiations and peer mediation to resolve their conflicts with each other constructively" (2005:280). Likewise, Harris argues that "[p]eace educators teach peace processes such as negotiation, reconciliation, nonviolent struggle and the use of treaties and laws that can be used to reduce levels of violence" (2004:6). Harris continues listing skills of which several are already established topics in negotiation training programs: "Children need formal training in anger management, social perspective taking, decision-making, social problem solving, peer negotiation, conflict management, valuing diversity, social resistance skills, active listening and effective communication in order to play these roles in school" (2004:16-17). It becomes evident that peace education and the field of negotiation display several important affinities. The discussion below will give an overview of certain key topics within negotiation research gradually zooming in on aspects with direct relevance for the topic of conflict handling in the friendship domain.

As conflicts are ubiquitous phenomena one could suggest that negotiations can be found in a wide variety of situations. Indeed, a call for increased effectiveness in negotiations stems not only from the diplomatic or business setting but from all realms of our daily lives. As Fischer et al., have stated: "Like it or not, you are a negotiator" (1981:6). Negotiation is a 'fact of life' intertwined with our interactive reality where differing views are constantly challenging each other. To find balancing and creative solutions to these disputes negotiation is required as an essential tool. Negotiation is needed when a disagreement or conflict has emerged, a dispute that calls to share or divide a limited resource, and also when a transaction or an economic deliberation is proposed or a collaboration to achieve something new is required. Scarcity, power, economic interests and value based differences are generally causes in which a disagreement or a conflict occurs (Wallenstein 2002).

Since negotiation is a ubiquitous event whether in business, private, community, institutionally, locally or internationally, so is the appeal for effective agreements carried out by skilful negotiators. For instance, parties sometimes fail to realize that they are engaged in a negotiation situation, or that the disagreement in which they find themselves can be negotiated so that their needs are met, their problems are solved or so they reach the deal they desire. The fact that negotiation is ubiquitous and that you are a negotiator does not

imply that the capacity to perform competently is inherent. Negotiation abilities are actually not so commonplace, although it is often a skill taken for granted. But learning how to perform effectively in a dispute is central for making competent negotiators.

The aim of this chapter is to provide an introduction to the field of negotiation, awareness of different facets of the discipline of negotiation research as well as of the negotiation process itself and to consider the competencies of the negotiator. We begin with discussing the theoretical framework underlying the various negotiation models. This is then followed by comparison of the two main types of research approaches in negotiation studies, the normative and descriptive. The distributive and integrative negotiation strategies and combinations thereof are then outlined, with subsequent description of models describing the negotiation process per se. Finally, we discuss various negotiation styles and the related topic of specific competencies identified as most relevant in the negotiation situation. The understanding of the negotiation process as a particularly rich social interaction that depends on developed interpersonal understanding constitute the bridge that connects negotiation research with cognitive developmental theories. Here Selman's model of interpersonal understanding and the interpersonal negotiation strategies model will serve as main theoretical framework in the following chapter.

3.2. NEGOTIATION DEFINITIONS

If agreements could be reached instantaneously there would be no need for negotiations in the first place. But since the world is full of competing agendas as well as of parties knowing they are dependent on their opponents, considerable time, efforts and resources are invested to find mutually agreeable solutions. There is hence no surprise that the term 'negotiation' stems from two Latin words, neg and otium, that literally mean "not leisure" (Salacuse 2015:7), from which in turn the Latin word Negotior, meaning 'to do business trade', is derived (Kidd 1996).

It is interesting to note the flourishing literature on negotiation research these days. Historically, negotiation was a field considered for centuries under the discipline of international diplomacy (Jeong, 2010). As a systematic scientific discipline negotiation research has evolved during the last 40 years only. Emerging after the World War II it has successfully established itself as a popular topic of interdisciplinary investigation. The scholars and practitioners who have contributed to this development come from economics, international relations, and law, psychology, mathematics and conflict management fields. As a result our knowledge of the negotiation process, rational decision making, psychosocial factors etc. has increased tremendously.

It is not easy to find an all-encompassing definition of negotiation and there are numerous definitions and here a few examples are mentioned. In the broadest sense a negotiation is a social interaction where two or more negotiators intend to solve a dispute (De Dreu 2003). Raiffa defines negotiations as "situations in which two or more parties recognize that

differences of interest and values exist among them and in which they want (or in which one or more are compelled) to seek a compromise agreement through negotiation" (Raiffa 1982:7). Granted, this definition is strictly speaking a tautology but nevertheless brings some necessary building blocks into the description. Gulliver defines negotiation as a process in the public domain in which two parties, with supporters of various kinds, attempt to reach a joint decision on issues under dispute: "I propose to give the widest definition of negotiation so that it includes the whole range of interaction between the two parties in dispute. It embraces everything that occurs, from the initiation and recognition of the dispute proper to the final outcome and, perhaps, its practical execution" (1979:71). Robinson and Volkov view negotiation as a process in which participants bring their goals to a negotiation table, strategically share information, and search for alternatives that are mutually beneficial (1998). According to Putnam and Roloff, negotiation is a special form of communication that centers on perceived incompatibilities and focuses on reaching mutually acceptable agreements. In fact, negotiation and communication are inherently intertwined; negotiation cannot occur without some means of communication (1992). Negotiation is, as Walton and McKersie succinctly suggested: "the deliberate interaction of two or more complex social units which are attempting to define or redefine the terms of their interdependence" (Walton & McKersie, 1965:3). This definition applies to individuals as well as 'social units' such as groups and organizations (Lewicki et al. 1992). Zartman explains this interdependence in his definition: "Negotiation takes place when neither party in a conflict is strong enough to impose its will or to resolve the conflict unilaterally. In those negotiations, the parties are formally equal, since each has a veto over an acceptable outcome" (Zartman, 1997:1). In these definitions we notice how the elements social interaction, communication and sharing information, dispute solving, compromise or joint decision or agreement finding for mutual benefit are incorporated in the concept of negotiation framing negotiation in collaborative terms. Zartman's notion on strength complements the picture reminding us of the underlying wielding of influence that is inherent in negotiation processes (more about power in negotiations later in this article).

The term 'bargaining' in relation to 'negotiation' will be dealt with in some detail since the usage varies between scholars (Lewicki et al., 1992:219). 'Bargaining' was traditionally meant to indicate a harsher and more primitive interaction than negotiation; the process by which the workforce and manufacturers tried to reach a decision about wages as compensation for services (Rubin 1994:34). Bargaining is then understood as a plain procedure engaging two parties oriented to influence each other with determination in order to achieve their intended objective.

With this understanding of bargaining, how does bargaining relate to negotiation? One way to reconcile both terms is to define bargaining as a sub-process incorporated into a wider negotiation context: "The narrower process of bargaining occurs within that comprehensive frame of negotiation. Bargaining consists of the presentation and exchange of more or less specific proposals for the terms of agreement on particular issues" (Gulliver 1979:71)

A slightly different view is to use the term 'negotiation' when dealing with conflicting goals or interests taking a win-win approach while 'bargaining' on the other hand is interpreted more as a competitive process from a win-lose standpoint (Lewicki et al., 2011:3) and "tends to involve threats, deception and other sorts of tactics" (Provis 2004:95, Schelling 1960). Finally, it has been noted that these terms are actually often employed interchangeably (Lewicki et al., 2011:3, Gulliver 1979:69), and some authors regard the negotiation and bargaining processes to be identical (Putnam & Roloff 1992).

The different interpretations of 'bargaining' vs 'negotiation' illustrate the various perspectives on the negotiation process represented in the literature. Throughout this work bargaining will refer to the more competitive interaction either as a unique single issue encounter or as a competitive phase within a more complex negotiation process (competitiveness as reflected in distributive strategies will be discussed further below).

In conclusion we take note of the variability between definitions of negotiation concerning certain particulars. There are however important shared characteristics emerging from the discussion above: (1) there are two or more interdependent participants, (2) each of whom has some individual goals that may be partially incompatible. In some form of (3) process, (4) alternatives are investigated (5) with the purpose of agreeing upon one of them, (6) effective results requires handling of tangibles in terms of prices etc., and the solving of intangibles concerns which are rooted in psychological causes (Lewicki et al., 2007:6-8).

3.3. NEGOTIATION RESEARCH DISCIPLINES

In the history of negotiation research, influences from a wide range of disciplines have been seen, including political science, mathematics, economics, psychology to mention a few. Not surprisingly strong trends have come and left during the course of time. The origin of negotiation studies is found in a branch of economics that studies the strategic interactions between self-interested, rational and economic agents. In their book Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour von Neumann and Morgenstern described the two person zero-sum game, where one player wins and the other player loses (1947). Soon thereafter, John Nash presented his concept of non-cooperative games characterized by both opponents behaving independently and in the absence of coalitions. The central element is Nash's notion of an equilibrium point where no parties are willing to alter their strategies, although they know the actions of the other party (1951). Related to this this thinking is theory of riskless choices, which assumes the decision-making agent, the so called 'economic man', to be: a) completely informed, knowing the all the alternatives open as well as the consequences; b) infinitely sensitive, being able to choose outcomes on a completely continuous scale; c) rational, being clear and consequent in priority making as well as always striving to maximize utility to obtain maximum profit and minimum loses (Edwards 1954:381) which is also in line with utilitarianism and is central to traditional economics (Raiffa 1982). In sum, game theory analyses the negotiation process as an ideal situation steered by rational choices and free from

the many irrational factors interwoven in real life negotiations which will be discussed further below.

The other major discipline within negotiation research is based on empirical studies and have showed that negotiations are heavily influenced also by decisions that do not follow the rational models. Here social psychology started to appear in the 1960s where the way negotiators look for and process information was investigated (Bazerman et al., 2000). Cognitive approaches from the area of psychology pioneered by Raiffa (1982) have occupied prominent space in the discourse investigating human decision making processes from a behavioural perspective (Bazerman et al. 2000). These studies take into account and systematize the deviations observed in real life from complete rationality and optimality of negotiation actors (Bazerman et al., 2000). A recent trend emphasizes factors within social psychology like social relationships (McGinn 2006), motivational bias (Carnevale & De Dreu 2006) or egocentrism, overly positive assessment of own negotiation ability, the role of emotion in negotiation (Morris & Keltner, 2000). Many studies have analysed the impact on negotiations by individual differences between actors. Limited explanatory power of this variable has so far been presented however (Bazerman et al., 2000). The study of structural or situational variables constitutes an adjacent research field, investigating external parameters like composition of parties/constituents etc. (Mnookin et al., 1996). The understanding of the irrational elements influencing negotiation processes have enriched our understanding of negotiation processes, complementing models based on the rational choice of the economic man (Raiffa 1982, Bazerman & Neale, 1991), and once analysed, this information can be used to make tactical assessments in order to improve negotiation outcome.

The insight from these negotiation studies have been applied in a variety of negotiation settings in real life. In International Politics negotiation studies have addressed the question how to solve disputes between countries and political issues through diplomacy reframing the problems in question avoiding escalation but if possible come to an agreement. Globalization has exposed people to entirely news worlds and negotiations increasingly take place across cultural contexts (Thompson et al., 2004). Ethnic and Cultural Differences is therefore a growing area of interest within negotiation research, identifying impact of culturally variable parameters (Gelfand & Brett 2004). Finally, Gender studies explore how gender influences negotiation processes and outcomes, where female negotiators often reach less than their male counterparts/peers (Babcock & Lascherver, 2008). Instead of just blaming the women for not asking enough, Kolb envisages a paradigm shift whereby 'undoing' gender as social construct in the negotiation context will eliminate gender as a factor affecting negotiation outcome (Kolb 2000, Kolb 2009).

The examples of application of negotiation theory and skills mentioned here shows the relevance and hence the success of negotiation research as a discipline. According to Thompson there are five central reasons for the sustained success and development of

negotiation research: Ability to be adjusted for conditions of inquiry and delivery; precise and convincing dependent measures; enthusiastic negotiators; urgent improvement of best practices; and a flexible approach within the culture of the community of researchers (2006).

From the discussion above we conclude that negotiation research has developed into a multi-facetted scientific field drawing from many disciplines and has thereby established many essential insights necessary for the development of negotiation practice.

3.4. THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The importance of a theoretical framework for approaching the negotiation process in a successful way has been widely accepted. Theories that describe the underlying expectations of the parties involved can greatly facilitate the negotiation; in particular theories can enrich the understanding of how to differentiate between contexts and types of negotiations, which in turn is necessary for applying the best suited strategy. To put it more concretely, an appropriate theory can function as a "tentative explanation which serves as a guide to action; it steers that actor toward some objective … toward some behaviours and away from others" (Thompson 2006).

According to Tidwell so far, no unifying meta-theoretical framework specific for the negotiation field has been laid (Spangle & Isenhart 2002:39), in part reflecting the general and differentiating development of negotiation research into many sub-fields. However, theories useful for describing human behaviour applicable for the negotiation situation have been borrowed from the fields of psychology, sociology, human needs, economics and others. As these theories provide key insights for the negotiation process a summary of these perspectives will be given below.

3.4.1. IDENTITY THEORY

The way the perception of one's identity affects behaviour has been analysed within the field of Identity Theory. The underlying psychological tenet is borrowed from the concept of 'social cognition' where "cognitive processes are [believed to be] a product of social life" originally championed by scholars like Mead and Vygotsky (Valsiner & van der Veer 1988:118). Mead described two forms of interaction between human beings: symbolic and non-symbolic. The latter "human beings respond directly to one another's gestures or actions" in the former "they interpret each other's gestures and act on the basis of the meaning yielded by the interpretation" (Blumer 1966:537). In particular how society / other people view and therefore shape a person's identity is emphasized here. The more the negotiator is concerned about how others perceive him or her, the more negotiation tactics will be based on enforcing identity. The case of applying the same identity-based tactic in a variety of contexts is described as 'identity salience' (Spangle & Isenhart 2003:40-41).

3.4.2. HUMAN NEEDS THEORY

The theory of Abraham Maslow can guide the negotiator who is attentive to the perceived needs of the other party. Maslow defined the seven 'classic' basic material and social human needs that drive our thinking and actions and form the social context – and his followers have included additional items to this list of basic needs. This basic need concept partially overlaps with theories discussed above, i.e. need for identity affirmation in Identity Theory as well as social needs forming group cohesion in lieu with Field Theory. The contribution of Human Need Theory is the holistic approach to the motives of human behaviour which can unearth important drivers easily overlooked in a more casual approach to a dispute (Spangle & Isenhart 2003: 45-46).

3.4.3. RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY

In contrast to Human Need Theory, Rational Choice focuses one factor: the combined striving to minimize loss and maximize gain – and often in that order (Kahnemann 1992). According to this thinking, involved parties' actions in a negotiation process can to a certain degree be predicted and a negotiator can choose to approach a conflict by seeking a scenario where parties obtain trade-offs more satisfying than by escalating the conflict. In his version of the famous 'Prisoner's Dilemma' game, Robert Axelrod investigated what strategy would best solve dilemmas dealing with choosing cooperation or defection between parties. In his computer simulation game the strategy 'Tit for Tat' showed the best results. It was based on choosing cooperation in the first move and then respond in like to the other party's next move. According to Axelrod, successful strategies for cooperation develop independently on trust between the parties involved as reciprocity/retaliation embedded in the strategy deters from defection. Axelrod notes that the prospect of repeated even indefinite number of interactions between the parties is necessary for this type of strategy development leading to cooperation; in unique interactions defection as first move would always be the best choice (1984). Translated to negotiations, the Tit for Tat strategy would show some relevance to negotiations framed within a continuous relationship, and where reciprocity is a real factor. The influence of perceptions on the negotiation process, as discussed in Social Interaction Theory section above, obviously comes into play in the Rational Choice Theory. Wrong perceptions of the counterpart's motives hinder steps toward a resolution: "Parties may be more than willing to end a conflict, yet may not do so because they perceive the other party as engaging in conflict" (Tidwell 1998:46).

3.4.4. TRANSFORMATION THEORY

Conflict de-escalation has been defined as "a decrease in the scope or number of parties engaged and /or in the severity of the means used in a conflict" (Kriesberg 2008:401). When a de-escalation process can display a) significant structural symmetry, b) shift from power wielding to cooperation and interdependence, as well as c) certain degrees of sympathy developing between the parties, then the conflict de-escalation can be said to be transforming

(Kriesberg 2008:402). Transformation Theory hence introduces a dynamic element into the negotiation field, whereby the process of negotiation can profoundly change the perspectives that led to a dispute: "Negotiation transforms conflict by changing the way people view and talk about problems" (Spangle & Warren Isenhart 2003:47). This transformation requires according to Kriesberg acceptance of needs, belief in compromise and compatibility of goals, and finally dropping behaviours counterproductive for the resolution (Kriesberg, 1999; Kriesberg 2008). Kriesberg further divides the transformation process in successive phases, where the parties step by step explore, confirm, approve and ratify novel agreements. The transformation may go beyond the actual resolving of a conflict and re-define relationships and conditions of cooperation. The transformation can in this line of thought transcend the original conflict and itself become the overarching goal (Bush & Folger 1994).

3.4.5. LEARNING SYSTEMS

Chris Argyris, the main proponent of the Learning Systems school, has observed within the field of Learning Systems different modes of learning from consequences of errors can take place: single loop learning and double loop learning: "One might say that participants in organizations are encouraged to learn to perform as long as the learning does not question the fundamental design, goals, and activities of their organizations. This learning may be called single-loop learning. In double-loop learning, a participant would be able to ask questions about changing fundamental aspects of the organization" (Argyris, 1976:367). In a negotiation situation that would mean that information received could not only change tactical plans but also question fundamental aspects including pre-planned of goals of the negotiation. Argyris has a strong focus on organizations and their development maintains that that any kind of substantial transformation within organizations involves this profounder form of learning [i.e. double-loop] (Argyris 1992). Double-loop learning hence challenges assumptions at a deeper level than single-loop learning process and can therefore be viewed as threatening and elicit defensive behaviour. The key is to be able to acknowledge the discrepancy between the so called 'espoused theories' which denote the values we uphold and the 'theories-in-use', which actually describe our actions. When doing so, Argyris advocates that members of an organization could take on a moral instead of simply a technical task, which will entail exposure to receive criticism, it will also require readiness to test their claims publicly given the evidence and disposition to accept that they are also partially responsible for the complications they are challenged with (Argyris 1992) Argyris' insights lend themselves to analysis of the negotiation process where negotiation could be viewed as a learning process. Here, a double-loop approach could transform the underlying assumptions of the parties, opening new doors for solving a dispute.

3.4.6. NEGOTIATION MODELS

A very important developmental pattern of negotiation research as discipline is the development of the two main traditions, the normative and the descriptive, representing different methodological approaches to the study of negotiation as well as different purpose

of the investigations. Methodologically, the normative approach originates from the field of economy is founded on mathematical models simulating decision making of completely rational agents. The descriptive school on the other hand, uses models based on empirical data of observed actions in situ or in experimental situations and grounded in behavioural theory (Bazerman & Neale 1991). Traditionally, the normative school has strived to find the optimal decision making process driving the negotiation to the best possible or 'ideal' outcome of a negation situation, hence the term 'normative'. The aim of descriptive investigations, on the other hand, has mostly been to provide an objective analytical description of a negotiation situation/negotiation type, without trying to find ways of improving the conduct of negotiations. The main approaches for negotiation modelling can thus be classified along two dimensions depending on the purpose of the model. The "is" (descriptive) and "ought" (normative), using Raiffa's words, reflect the intentions to only describe reality or to also improve it, respectively (Raiffa 1982:20). Historically, these two schools have operated quite independently of each other but lately more interactions between their respective proponents have been undertaken. This is reflected for instance by the combined use of normative and descriptive approaches and that the application of some descriptive models has expanded to also include attempts to find routes for improving the negotiation strategy and execution (see below).

This last aspect leads us to delineate a third category, the 'prescriptive' model type. Great care is here needed as some authors use the 'normative' and 'prescriptive' concepts interchangeably as noted by Bell et al (Bell et al. 1989:16). The terms 'normative' and 'prescriptive' are held separate in this work, however, following Lewicki et al. (1992), and Baron who states: "With normative and descriptive models in hand, we can try to find ways to correct the biases [meaning observed deviations from ideal normative decision making], that is, to improve judgments according to the normative standards. The prescriptions for such correction are called prescriptive models" (2004:34).

The convention followed here thus defines prescriptive models only those models that explicitly aim to provide advice on how to make better decisions in negotiations (Bell et al. 1989:18), or in other words "[to] guide the perplexed decision maker in choosing an action that is consonant with the decision maker's 'true' beliefs and values" (Raiffa, 1982:20). The prescriptive method therefore becomes a guide for the decision maker to move towards a normative ideal (Baron, 2008). Normative analyses based on fictitious and completely rational actors have been applied for prescriptive purposes (Raiffa 1982), and as will be mentioned below also descriptive models can be used prescriptively (Carnevale & Pruitt, 1992:534).

The prescriptive category will not be elaborated further in this work and we are now going into the details of normative, descriptive and combined approaches.

3.4.7. NORMATIVE MODELS

Normative models for negotiation traditionally use methodology from economics, game theory, rational choice and decision analysis (Vetschera 2013:136). "Normative theories for cognition aim to tell us how we ideally should or ought to reason, make judgments, and take decisions. These theories, particularly formal logic, probability theory, and decision theory, give us rules to follow or conform to that supposedly make our thought rational" (Over 2004:18). Normative research on decision making finds logically convincing characteristics that forms a pattern for the best process of decision making in a given situation. This ability to find the ideal decision process for optimal negotiation outcome, and thereby setting a benchmark to use for evaluation of negotiation settings, constitutes one of the most valuable properties of normative models.

Concerning the limitations of normative models it has been argued that they often are too "narrow, involving only a few variables and making highly restrictive assumptions" (Carnevale & Pruitt 1992:534). Moreover, and as noted above, actual negotiation behaviour does deviate from the perfect rationality assumed in normative models of negotiation, as has also been shown by numerous descriptive approaches based on empirical research (Bazerman & Neale 1991:110).

Interestingly, descriptive research have shown that deviations from rationality observed in some normative models cases can be predicted and hence show some degree of systematic properties. Sebenius explains: "Concern with the 'other side' renders the insightful work of 'behavioural decision analysis' and behavioural economists important to negotiation analysis. Knowledge of systematic cognitive deviations from strict individual 'rationality,' poorly-calibrated and inconsistent probabilistic assessments, as well as other anomalies not only has direct tactical implications but also helps build up more structure on the 'descriptive' side of the area's 'asymmetrically prescriptive/descriptive' orientation. Of value in this regard are the works of Roth and his colleagues that blend game-theoretic and psychological considerations in rigorous experimental settings" (Sebenius 1992: 20 -21). Where there these systematic deviations are at hand they therefore considerably weakens the prescriptive value of a normative model, if not complemented or corrected with behavioural parameters (cf. Harsanyi's model mentioned below). Bazerman and Neale mentions the ignoring of the cognitions of others as a major deviation from rationality: "[W]e argue that a fundamental impediment to rational decision making in competitive situations is the failure of the competitive actor to incorporate the decision processes of the opponent" (Bazerman & Neale, 1991:112). Other deviations include Overconfidence in Judgment, Non-Rational Escalation of Commitment, The Mythical Fixed-Pie of Negotiations, The Mythical Perception of Monolithic Action, and Limited Perspective and Frame to the Problem (Bazerman & Neale, 1991:114ff). These departures from rationality in real-life, which we call biases, have been extensively studied and the insights are now used to complement normative analyses.

Despite these limitations of normative approaches when confronted with non-rational reality of negotiations, many normative models are important for evaluating negotiation performance: "The benchmark of rationality in prescriptive models [=normative rational models used prescriptively] can be the basis for evaluating whether or not negotiators improve over time and learn from experience" (Bazerman & Neale 1991:123). Bell and Raiffa's definition of the so called 'symmetrical prescriptive' approach entails a) what an impeccably rational negotiator would act at a negotiation (the normative aspect), b) the ambition to give advice qualifies this model category as 'prescriptive' and finally, c) 'symmetrical' denotes that guidance for all involved parties is sought (1980:21). In general, normative models hence still have prescriptive value pointing toward rational optimization of decision making.

At a deeper level, which is out of scope of this work, there is of course the concept of rationality itself on which normative models hinge. As has been noted elsewhere: "Descriptive results showing that people are out of line with a suggested normative rule may be grounds for concluding that their thinking is fallacious or biased. However, there are sometimes serious disputes about whether a proposed normative theory or rule is really relevant to people's rationality. Whether a theory, or one of its rules, is truly 'normative' or relevant in some context depends, at the deepest level, on our definition of 'rationality'" (Over 2004:18). Keeping the 'subjective' element of 'rationality' in mind is thus important.

3.4.8. DESCRIPTIVE MODELS

The disciplines underlying descriptive models include sociology, psychology and related areas taking into account the difficult-to-predict human behaviour (Vetschera 2013:136). In psychology, descriptive approaches aim to elucidate how people actually think and in negotiation research, the focus is on processes underlying actual decision making. According to Raiffa descriptive research focus the way do real negotiators actually make choices taking into account values and beliefs systems, analyse how do they learn analysing how have they behaved in earlier negotiations as well as using descriptive and interactive models of behaviour including simulations or mathematical algorithms (Raiffa 1982).

Descriptive research along these lines has described certain aspects of negotiation outcomes, including: "differential information/payoffs, the effects of the surrounding characteristics of the negotiation … and individual differences among negotiators" (Bazerman & Neale, 1991:110). Methodologically, the descriptive school relies on empirical research in situ as well as in the laboratory, in contrast to theoretical modelling emphasized in the normative school. The descriptive models have not been so much used prescriptively as the normative counterparts; however their contributions to the understanding of the negotiation process often carry sufficient weight to qualify for prescriptive purposes (Carnevale & Pruitt 1992:534).

Some of these descriptive approaches have been criticized for not providing a reference point which could be used to gauge the negotiation process and the involved parties (Bazerman & Neale, 1991). As mentioned above, normative rational models can in some instances provide such reference points supporting descriptive studies.

As for normative research the additional 'symmetric' and 'asymmetric' variables have been introduced to further specify descriptive approaches. Symmetric descriptive perspectives involves descriptive analysis of all parties involved, whereas asymmetric descriptive usually involves scrutiny of the opponent only, taking into account non-rational traits or biases of the other party. Since the supported party itself is marred by biases it receives advice based on this information about the opponent and therefore the asymmetric descriptive approach contains a prescriptive element (Raiffa 1982). The asymmetrical (described below) variant combines normative and descriptive research approaches, which leads us to the combined or mixed models in negotiation analysis.

3.4.9. MIXED MODELS

Although negotiators tend to view themselves as rational and hence draw upon normative models, they also acknowledge that their opponents might act being influenced by an array of non-rational factors. Armed with this insight many negotiation research approaches today pragmatically combine normative and descriptive factors (Vetschera 2013:136). Early mixed models include Harsanyi's theoretical model from 1956 used for salary negotiations is normative, as not based on empirical research, but contains the non-rational elements such as a random function for reactions to proposals "thus introducing a behavioural component in the model (since the opponent is not represented as a strictly rational subject, whose reactions could be predicted with certainty)" (Vetschera 2013:139). Interestingly, later empirical testing of Harsanyi's model showed a predictive value in certain real life situations (Vetschera 2013).

We are now ready to come back to the asymmetrical descriptive-prescriptive models alluded to earlier. Here, one negotiator is supported with prescriptive advice based on normative data concerning best action for himself/herself and descriptive data concerning his/her opponent's propensity for biases. "This type of analysis is prescriptive from the vantage point of one party and descriptive from the points of view of the competing parties" (Raiffa 1982:21). Here Vetschera confirms stating that: "on one hand, support to increase the rationality of the supported negotiator can build on prescriptive [normative] theories like decision analysis or game theory, on the other hand prediction of the opponents' behaviour must be based on insights about actual human behaviour [descriptive aspect]" (Vetschera 2013:136).

In conclusion we have now found that at the disposal of the negotiation analyst there are both normative models describing how ideal rational choices would shape a negotiation, as well as descriptive models depicting real patterns of decision making based on empirical data.

Combined normative-descriptive approaches can effectively be employed to provide prescriptive advice to a negotiation party.

3.5. NEGOTIATION STRATEGIES

Having discussed different approaches to negotiation research we now continue with describing strategies of the negation process itself. At first sight, negotiation strategies appear to revolve around getting as much as possible of the 'pie' in a zero-sum game, where each gain for one party exacts a corresponding loss for the other. Reality is however more complex and the options for the creative negotiator more diverse. Strategies built on the win-or-lose concept can be put in the so called distributive category of negotiation strategies. Here, numerous models have been described based on this principle. If one however bases one's strategy on the other main paradigm, the integrative, then you give space to for instance win-win opportunities in your strategy and other outcomes may be reached. In this section we will describe these main strategy categories, the distributive and the integrative and compare their strengths and weaknesses.

It was Walton and McKersie (1965) who laid the foundation by presenting a substantial theory of negotiation built upon existing studies basically adopting a managerial perspective and grounding their ideas in research studies and practical labour cases. They identified four 'sub processes' of negotiation called distributive bargaining, integrative bargaining, attitudinal structuring, intra-organizational bargaining, which together shape the development of the negotiation process within and between the parties involved[9]. For our purposes it suffices here to discuss distributive and integrative bargaining, in this article called distributive and integrative negotiation, which have become the two dominant paradigms among negotiation analysts and practitioners alike.

3.5.1. THE DISTRIBUTIVE APPROACH

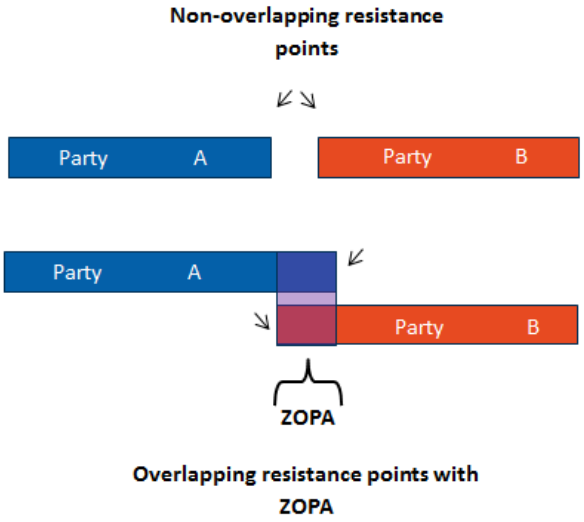
As briefly mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the 'distributive' school, describes a negotiation as a competitive process where the involved parties view the negotiation as a 'zero-sum' game, or 'fixed-pie' situation or gain-loss of utility using terminology from game theory models (Rubin 1994). Here, in contrast to the integrative models described below, the losses and gains always cancel one another out, i.e. they add up to zero. The value of the deal (the size of the 'pie') is here perceived as constant and not object to change during the negotiation. Each party's ambition is to get the bigger piece of the 'pie' as possible and as a result they are categorized as win-lose negotiations (Lewicki et al. 1992). Another feature of negotiations where distributive models are applied is that the parties tend to focus on their

[9] It has been commented that "[t]hough, Walton and McKersie's propose a four sub-processes theory of negotiation the connection between them is vague" (Lewicki et al.1992:220).

differences, neglecting what they have in common. To illustrate distributive negotiation consider a buyer who intends to procure a property and the negotiation with the seller is focused around the price of the object. Whatever the price will be, the dialogue is still about the same object and only the negotiator whose strategy is more influential will gain advantage over the counterpart, to maximize utility and reduce losses (Thompson 1996).

From this win-lose perspective, the negotiator's behaviour is determined by his or her target points also known as preferred outcome goals as well as their resistance points, which in turn signify the most extreme concession limit that can be accepted (Lewicki et al. 1992, Thompson et al. 2010). One important example of a distributive approach is the 'concession-convergence' model which describes this negotiation process as a situation where each side makes offers and then gradually intersect into an acceptable area of agreement. This area or bargaining (or negotiation) zone is the difference between the negotiators' resistance points. If there is an overlap (see Diagram 3.1. below) an area where an acceptable agreement can be established, called Zone Of Possible Agreement, ZOPA. Though the ZOPA is shared the model does not automatically imply equally divided portions within the ZOPA (Rubin 1994, Thompson et al. 2010). The exact positioning of the deal within the ZOPA is then determined by the tactics and styles employed to get as close as possible to the perceived optimal outcome. If these resistance points do not overlap however there is no room for reaching an agreement using the concession-convergence model and walking away from the negotiation table is the rational decision. A descriptive observation is that even though distributive negotiation is profoundly adversarial most times, negotiators rather reach an agreement and accept a disproportionate partition than leave the table with no contract at all, or in Sebenius' words: "… [E]ach party would rather accept any settlement in the zone of possible agreement rather than no agreement (assuming the process does not generate spite, conflict escalation, or its equivalent)" (Sebenius 1992).

Diagram 3.1: ZOPA - Zone Of Possible Agreement in a negotiation



Situations where the concession-convergence model could be applied include non-repetitive negotiation settings, time-restrictive negotiations and when only one issue is on the table (Kelleher 2000).

Some reasons have been put forward in favour of distributive negotiation. First, negotiators in some cases may find themselves in co-dependent conditions that are distributive and need to handle them appropriately. Second, many negotiators operate within this approach nearly all the time and knowing how to counter distributive strategies puts the negotiator in a better position. Third, even when negotiations have started 'integrative' often they require distributive skills at a later stage where value is claimed by both parties (Lewicki et al. 1992). Combination of distributive and integrative approaches will be discussed further below.

Ethical drawbacks to distributive strategies have been mentioned by Al-Khatib et al.; "[Negotiation] is a tactical process, potentially littered with ethical dilemmas as each party seeks to maximize their own outcomes" (Al-Khatib et al. 2011:133), and among unethical approaches Al-Khatib et al. explicitly mentions "traditional competitive bargaining" (2011:134).

In sum we can say that the distributive model for negotiation is what many understand as the traditional way of negotiating, where each gain for one party must be compensated by a corresponding concession from the other party. The model is highly rational and direct, but does not give space to out-of-the-box solutions created during the process.

3.5.2. THE INTEGRATIVE APPROACH

Integrative negotiation, also called interest-based, collaborative or cooperative negotiation has been extensively acknowledged as the most effective approach in most categories of negotiation: “By contrast with the subject matter of international relations, there is empirical evidence to support the superiority of problem solving over bargaining in other contexts” (Hopmann 1995:42). Parker Follett, the founder of the discipline of organizational behaviour, was among the first who used the notion of "integration" in conflict management studies (1942). Her illustration that highlights the distinction between distributive and integrative approaches has become a classic in the negotiation literature. Confronted with a disagreement over an orange, two sisters decide to conciliate by cutting the orange in half, which exemplifies the distributive model. One sister subsequently uses the peel for a cake and throws the juice away the other sister drinks the juice and throws the peel away. It is clear that the argument blinded the sisters so that the more profitable outcome was overlooked: to give all the juice to one sister and the whole peel to the other sister. The latter option is then a typical integrative solution that was overlooked as the parties did not take time to explain to each other their needs and goals (Parker Follett 1942). To separate the peel from the juice increased the value for the sisters without being at the expense of either one of them. Any allocation that increases the value for one or several parties without hurting any party involved thus contradicts the zero-sum model. The situation when a negotiation has reached a point where no more improvements for a party can be made without negative consequences for either party been denoted a ‘Pareto optimal’ or ‘Pareto efficient’. This point is more easily reached by integrative methods, particularly in multi-issue negotiations (see below) (Galinsky et al. 2005). From Pareto optimality onwards - if one party would decide to strive for additional gains - only the zero-sum game remains, also Weingart et al. found that the pareto efficiency of agreements between naïve negotiators could be significantly improved by simply providing negotiators with descriptions of both integrative and distributive tactics (1996)

As mentioned above Walton and McKersie (1965) introduced the notion of ‘distributive’ versus ‘integrative’ negotiation. Although Walton and McKersie did not advocate that one approach was better than the other, the integrative strategy has become the most popular model among scholars. The integrative approach is distinguished from the distributive counterpart by “creation of value; focus on interests and not positions; openness and exchange of relevant information, and even learning; and problem restructuring” (Vo et al. 2007:37). Other characteristics associated with integrative negotiation include ensuring “better compromises”, “win-win solutions” (Fisher et al., 2011), and “expanding the pie” (Rubin 1994). Lax and Sebenius (1986) invented the term "creating value" to elaborate on the same general notion, in contrast to “claiming value” which in their terminology is the main tenet of the distributive approach (Lax & Sebenius 1986). But it was Fischer et al., with their book “Getting to Yes” (1981) that made the integrative negotiation concept popular among the general public by advocating the pursuit of ‘mutual gains’ which denotes beneficial

alternatives for both parties. This approach focuses analysis of the parties' interests rather than on positions. Fischer et al., explain: "Interests rather than positions works for two reasons. First, for every interest there usually exist several possible positions that could satisfy it. Reconciling interests rather than compromising between positions also works because behind opposed positions lie many more interests than conflicting ones." Reconciliation of interests is then according to the mutual gains model the basis on which an agreement rests. In the mutual gains-type of negotiations the parties hence collectively discover and embrace preferences that yield greater joint utility and value for all involved. Hence, negotiators here view each other as positive win-win counterparts and focus the interests and needs of the parties and seek ways how to address those needs.

The far-reaching implications of the mutual gains theory on the negotiating situation has led some assign ideological properties to this approach: "A perspective preaching the possibility that everybody wins is not only appealing. It carries with it a sense of moral rectitude and fairness that many of us want to believe in" (Rubin 1994:36). This has sometimes also lead the discussion on integrative and distributive negotiators to be framed in somewhat polarizing terms: "Prosocial negotiators conceive of the negotiation situation as a collaborative game in which morality and fairness are important, while egoistic negotiators conceive of the negotiation situation as a competitive game in which power, domination, and personal success is key" (Kelley & Thibaut 1978)

Today, the integrative model constitutes a prominent approach among scholars (Henderson & Trope 2009:402) and a number of advantages have been mentioned by advocates for this model: better sustainability with cultivation of agreeable relations between the negotiators (Pruitt & Rubin 1986), decreased probability for negotiation deadlock by facilitating offering of solutions that fulfil the parties' expected goals. There are in fact conflicts for which obtaining an integrative arrangement is the only solution (Neale & Bazerman 1992). Finally, integrative negotiations further the wellbeing of the larger community (Pruitt & Rubin 1986). In the section below we will develop this discussion taking into account how real negotiation circumstances affects the choice between integrative and distributive strategies.

3.5.3. CHOOSING OR COMBINING DISTRIBUTIVE OR INTEGRATIVE APPROACHES

Now is it really that bad to take a distributive approach when negotiating a conflict or reaching a deal? Is it possible to take a distributive approach and always win? Or is the integrative approach like the mutual gains concept the only morally sustainable way forward in any negotiation? The first step to answer these questions is to look at how different types of negotiation situations or negotiation tasks can determine strategy choice: "[T]he structure of the issues has implications for the appropriateness of the strategy negotiators elect to pursue. Of course, it is possible for negotiators to use distributive tactics when the task has integrative potential, for instance. However, if the parties rely solely on these task-incongruent tactics, they are likely to miss opportunities to achieve low-cost gains" (Weingart et al. 1990). Bazerman and Neale likewise argue that a thoughtful consideration of the key choices parties

may result in better joint utility than taking a merely distributive approach in a direct win-lose mode (Neale & Bazerman 19921992:74).

On the other hand certain situations do call for either an integrative or distributive approach of concession-convergence type. It is for instance quite obvious to consider a unique single issue bargaining event with anonymous parties for instance at a market in distributive terms. Integrative 'expanding the pie' options are here not at hand. Moreover, concession-convergence is in contrast to integrative procedures quite straightforward requiring less efforts and skills. Negotiators being under pressure by those they represent are likely to find distributive approach easier to engage in with the opportunity to continuously provide updates in terms of gains and concessions (Rubin 1994). Integrative negotiations on the other hand tend to be multifactorial simultaneously dealing with various issues with varying degree of priority for the parties involved (Sullivan et al. 2006). "Differential values of the same items, or different items differentially valued, are the keys to successful negotiations" (Zartman & Rubin 2000:286). This can create a positive-sum (=win win?) where both parties feel that they gained more engaging in the negotiation than rejecting the negotiation (Zartman & Rubin 2000). Thus, a distributive strategy like the concession-convergence model can be more appropriate under certain conditions than an integrative strategy like the mutual gains approach.

So far we have discussed choice between the distributive OR the integrative strategy type. The utility of combining the integrative and the distributive strategies has however been advanced by negotiation scholars. Rubin argues that both distributive or concession-convergence and integrative or mutual gains approaches have a role to play in handling disputes. He goes even further stating that favouring one and rejecting the other is inadvisable and pointless (Rubin 1994:37). From a descriptive perspective, Lax and Sebenius observe that most negotiation situations comprise both integrative and distributive strategies and that they occur during the negotiation interchangeably (Lax & Sebenius 1986).

A sequential way to combine integrative and distributive strategies that has been suggested is simply to divide the negotiation process is divided in two phases, where the first phase is integrative in nature with the purpose to define the space or value to be divided. During the following phase the total value established is then divided between the parties following a distributive pattern of negotiation (Vo et al. 2007). (This model includes a mediator facilitating both phases.). Is it possible to reverse this sequence of distributive and integrative stages of the negotiation in a combination setting? A scenario where distributive actions are followed by integrative ones could indeed be a possibility. Although it has been shown that distributive tactics like appearing firm or using persuasive arguments generally hampers integrative development of a negotiation process (Pruitt & Lewis 1975), it is suggested here that this may not always be the case. Consider the stronger party A: trying to engage the weaker, reluctant and distributive-oriented party B: in an integrative negotiation process. Party A sees the deadlock coming and therefore decides to make use of distributive moves in order to force

party B to first stay at the table and then step by step introduce integrative steps toward a win-win deal. In this special case tactics which include appearing firm or using persuasive arguments in order to create or restore an integrative negotiation process could therefore in some situations be envisaged. Even distinctly distributive unilateral options like 'commitments', signifying categorical statements that expand the concession margin of the opponent in an unfavourable direction, could be used for this purpose (Schelling 1960). This strategy suggested here thus aims to devaluate the opponent's options outside of the negotiation process in order to maintain the negotiation in progress and to steer it in an integrative direction.

The choice between integrative and distributive strategies is however often a very complex issue for the negotiator: "In general, negotiators have difficulty combining forceful tactics with problem solving because the two sets of behaviours involve different mind-sets" (Giebels et al. 2000:257). In contrast, it is held here that a pre-planned switching of strategy mode is compatible with an overarching integrative mind-set. The tension often experienced when choosing between integrative and distributive strategies and tactics is called 'negotiator's dilemma' (Kaufmann 1987; Mnookin 1992). The challenge can be on the one hand when to reveal information so that good integrative solutions are attained, and on the other hand when to hide information so that one's competitive utility is maximized using a distributive frame. Here, discernment is needed to find the approach that best matches what is really at stake in the negotiation: "In much the same way, bargainers may try to exchange information about preferences when a negotiation lacks integrative potential. Pursuing this course squanders time and effort, making the point that task-incongruent tactics are not likely to yield profitable deals" (Sullivan et al. 2006:568). This 'negotiator's dilemma' also entails the challenge to distinguish when to trust the other party's genuine commitment to integrative solution rather than having a hidden distributive agenda (see discussion on trust further below). The risk of making integrative moves has been discussed: "Disclosing information thus renders oneself vulnerable to exploitation. Also, when having alternatives the explicit attempt to exchange information about preferences and priorities may be seen as a sign of weakness and parties may fear this will hurt the opportunity for competitive gain or will give the opposing negotiator such an opportunity" (Pruitt et al. 1994). Capitalizing on integrative strategies hence requires commitment to sincere, authentic and communicative exchange, which are not always easy to establish or maintain.

When analysing the differences between integrative and distributive negotiation it is interesting to note how individual tactical elements have different or even opposite effects depending on the strategic setting. Thus, making a strong unilateral statement – a so called 'commitment' - (preferentially early) or making a threat can offer an advantage for a party in a distributive setting forcing the other party to adapt. In contrast, the integrative negotiation process would come to a halt by the same one-sided commitment, blocking joined attempts to find win-win solutions. Likewise, for distributive parties withholding or misrepresenting information can be of strategic advantage and moreover, shared information can be misused

by the opponent. Integrative parties on the other hand benefit both from knowing the true interests and needs of the other side to find common solutions to shared problems (Rubin 1994).

As we have seen in real life, negotiation is a complex mission in which the negotiator is challenged to achieve effective deals and handle the tension between distributive and integrative strategies. The literature also shows that while the strategies of integrative negotiation indeed can create significant value for all parties, negotiation remains a competitive operation anyway, and negotiators must achieve their tasks responsibly by prioritizing and focusing their self-interests (Lax & Sebenius 1986). Further, Cohen argues that negotiation and associated conflict resolution practices intrinsically comprise both competition and cooperation, wherefore he calls for linguistic usage that considers that tension. For example the use of the term "counterpart" would then be preferred over the commonly used expressions "adversary" or "partner" (2003:433). Thus, there is a tension between competition and cooperation, which has been discussed in the literature (Allred 2000).

3.6. NEGOTIATION PHASE MODELS

In the following section we will discuss the process of negotiation from a sequential perspective looking at the different phases that characterize the process of reaching an agreement. For our purposes we have limited the number of phases to three: Preparation, Information Exchange and Pact, but we will start with introducing various phasing models that have been suggested by negotiation scholars.

The intricate process of negotiation has been extensively discussed and different stages or phases have been described. Holmes (1992) describes prescriptive and descriptive phase models, where the former generally are intended as "yardsticks for gauging progress, predicting what will happen next, and focusing activity at a given time" (Holmes 1992:86). Descriptive phase models intend to describe patterns observed empirically without aiming for giving guidance primarily and are based on Douglas' seminal work (Douglas 1962). Though the models contain variations on theme number and labels the prescriptive and descriptive phase models share the same basic tripartite structure: Initiation, Problem-solving and Resolution phases (preparation is excluded being regarded a pre-negotiation phase). According to Holmes prescriptive models exhibit certain limitations in that they "tend to focus on one party and to neglect the transactional nature of negotiation" and that the phases uniformly follow one after another in a set pattern till resolution is reached (Holmes 1992:88). Empirical data from real life settings tend to show more complex patterns of phasing however (see discussion on Gulliver (1977) below).

Further elaboration on Douglas's work has been done by Gulliver (1979) who, based on a wealth of in situ data from various cultural contexts introduces a processual model containing two interconnected 'sub-models', a developmental and a cyclical (Gulliver 1979). In the

developmental Gulliver describes eight phases which roughly form a continuous sequence, but with flexibility allowing two or more overlapping phases. The whole negotiation process is set off by a crisis followed by the phases of development:

1. Search for arena: Need and benefits of negotiated outcome recognized and outer circumstances around negotiation agreed
2. Composition of agenda and definition of issues: Particularization and articulation of disagreement, rules and constitution of parties
3. Establishing maximal limits to issues in dispute: Declarations broadly describing ranges of acceptable concessions and probing of opponents limits
4. Narrowing differences: Gradual or abrupt transition into finding common ground using preferred strategy [five strategies or methods described]
5. Preliminaries to final bargaining: Reducing number of disagreements to be dealt with by trade-offs and defining priorities, governed by defined viable bargaining ranges
6. Final bargaining: Converging concession-making toward agreement point
7. Ritual affirmation: Formalizing of outcome and expression of cooperation and settlement
8. Execution of outcome: Implementation of agreement by specialists or by parties directly (Gulliver 1979:122ff.).

In addition, Gulliver annotates half of the phases as contain antagonistic (distributive) and coordinative (integrative) poles, showing an internal bipolar dynamic over time within each phase (phase 1, 2, 4, 6). Four of the phases are initiated in an antagonistic mode moving in a coordinative direction, whereas phase 4 (narrowing differences) actually displays a reversed pattern with coordinate – antagonistic polarity. This reflects the crystallization process of disagreement points in this phase, which are subsequently revisited and resolved in phases five and six. Gulliver emphasizes that this model though containing many specified phases, is not supposed to fit to every single negotiation situation but can serve as a flexible instrument to help understand real negotiation situations (Gulliver 1979:172-173).

Gulliver's other 'submodel', the cyclical, describes the mechanics of interactions of the parties involved. The emphasis is here on the exchange and processing of information at each interaction throughout the phases of the negotiation process (Gulliver 1979). Information shared by party A is received and contemplated by party B. Party B may learn from this information about party A:s needs, goals and strategy etc., which in turn may prompt B to adjust his or her aspirations, claims and strategy. This adjustment may be reflected in the information shared by party B in response. This cyclical model tries to explain the momentum created by the reciprocal information exchange and reciprocal interpretation of the parties. Gulliver acknowledges the simplicity of the model compared to the often very complex and less 'tidy' negotiation processes taking place in real life. He maintains the "heuristic usefulness of the model" however, as a tool for further analysis of party interactions during negotiations (Gulliver 1979:115).

Looking at both models 'superimposed' on one another they appear to reinforce one another. Gulliver maintains however that they possess their individual and distinct dynamics (Gulliver 1979). In one sense, one could here still envisage an example of a hermeneutical spiral model where the parties' understanding and ambition are advanced through each exchange, which in turn propels the negotiation process forward from one phase to the next.

Having looked at different ways of analysing the anatomy of the negotiation process, we now turn to the process itself. We will here discuss three phases: Preparation, Information Ex Reychlege and Pact, which denote assessment of the situation, the exchange of information aiming to influence the desired outcomes, and finally defining the agreement, respectively.

3.6.1. PREPARATION

Preparation is critical for successful negotiation. "Effective planning allows negotiators to design a road map that will guide them to agreement" (Lewicki et al. 2007:111). Raiffa (1982) emphasizes the importance of knowing yourself as well as the other party of the negotiation in view before embarking on the actual negotiation process. Knowing oneself includes knowing one's priorities and aspirations which in turn determine how one deals with different possible scenarios (Raiffa 1982). Setting the goal in beforehand is vital for success. Too high (too tough), too low (too soft) or not well defined goal, also called aspiration or target point, precludes reaching the best result of a negotiation (Fisher et al., 2011). An additional critical consideration concerns identifying or estimating the consequences a failure to reach an agreement would have (Neale & Bazerman 1992). Here the critical reference point for a negotiator is the so called BATNA, which means Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement. The BATNA represents the best available alternative solution a negotiator can attain that is independent of reaching an agreement through a negotiation. From this follows that the better the BATNA the less extreme concession limit a party is prepared to or need to accept and consequently the stronger position the negotiator has when used appropriately (Brett et al. 1996).

The concession limit mentioned is hence closely linked to the BATNA and is in the literature called resistance point, and crossing this line would consequently produce a worse outcome than walking away from the table with no agreement at all (Walton & McKersie 1965). This resistance point is equally important as goals to determine, bearing in mind it is not a static figure, but can – and should - be improved by the negotiator. The adversary obviously strives to reduce this value (Thompson 2009).

Finally, in one's self-assessment one need to determine how to manage risk in negotiation. Thompson identifies the following risks: strategic risk, BATNA risk and contractual risk. Strategic risk refers to how big risks negotiators are prepared to accept for reaching their target, often determined by outcome of previous negotiation experiences. The BATNA risk uses BATNA as the reference point for loss or gain, to accept an offer or walk away. Where the BATNA is placed will affect how risk prone or risk averse a negotiator's tactics is (Thompson

2009:23). Finally, the contractual risk denotes the risk that follows a settled agreement. Negotiators (and their constituents) may approach risks in different ways: "A risk-averse decision-maker is one who prefers a certain gain to a risky one of equivalent expected value. A risk-seeking decision maker is one who prefers the risky option" (Bottom 1998:91). For negotiators with risk-averse predisposition comprehensive solutions are more likely outcomes than for their risk-prone colleagues (Thompson 2009). Negotiators may also display different attitudes toward potential wins and losses: "Th[e] property (losses looming psychologically larger than equivalent gains) has been termed 'loss aversion' since it reflects a stronger desire to avoid a loss than to achieve an equally valued gain" (Bottom 1998:91). The more precisely these aspects can be assessed before the negotiation the more the negotiator will be enabled to plan for certain scenarios framed by risk perception by the opponent as well as himself/herself.

In addition to defining one's own parameters for the negotiation, the seasoned actor strives to get to know the other party, for instance by putting oneself in their shoes which can help gaining a deeper understanding of the underlying factors of the dispute (Raiffa 1982). In addition to concrete goals and concession limits one need to be aware of aspects that remain intangible such as how a negotiator projects him/herself or the party he/she represents (Lewicki et al. 2007). Deutsch has classified basic motivational orientations into three main types: "cooperative – the party has a positive interest in the welfare of the other as well as in its own benefit; individualistic – the party has an interest in doing as it can for itself and is unconcerned about the welfare of the other; and competitive – the party has an interest I doing better than the other as well as doing as it can for itself" (1994). The term 'cooperative' here closely relates to the 'integrative' mode in our discourse, whereas 'individualistic' and 'competitive' have affinity to the distributive counterpart. Different combinations are of these motivational orientations are possible and these combinations tend to display different degrees of stability over time according to Deutsch (1994). Here, competitive or collaborative actions are thought to steer the social relationship between the parties in a competitive and a collaborative direction, respectively. He further emphasizes the importance of understanding the conditions that can lead a dispute in either a competitive or collaborative direction (1994). Lax and Sebenius state that interests sometimes are not tangible, tough to assess and most likely will change during the negotiation process: "People negotiate to further their interests. In short, interests include anything that the negotiator cares about, any concerns that are evoked by the issues discussed" (1986:73). Clarifying these interests, however, can sometimes be difficult.

The specific situation will also frame the negotiation. Analysis of negotiation conventions where format, level of transparency and relationship over time should also be taken into account. Role play can add further value to the preparations. Here, Raiffa also includes consideration of practical arrangements for the negotiation concerning assistance and setting/venue (1982). The preparations for a negotiation should also involve assessment of the relationship between the parties. If the interaction is a unique singular event, the

negotiator may deploy a different tactics than if the negotiations with the other party is a regularly, recurring phenomenon, where development of confidence in the other party is an important factor (Lewicki 2011). Further, disputes may revolve around opinions or convictions, 'consensus conflicts' or allocation of material value, 'scarce resource competition' or even a combination of both (Thompson 2009). Conflicts over values or beliefs need special caution. In order to negotiate ideologically based disputes contextual factors such as values and social institutions are to be taken into account. However as fundamental values comprise core belief systems, which people earnestly protect and are profoundly embedded in practice it is very difficult to reach integrative agreements (Wade-Benzoni et al. 2002). Here, preparations should include extra efforts to facilitate steering the negotiation on an integrative route.

It is critical to prepare for the event that the opponent chooses a distributive or positional stance at the beginning. Fells suggests that "[m]aking sure that the start of the negotiations is orderly will be laying the base for co-operative interaction even if the debate is over competitive positions" (Fells 1993:59). Even the worst case scenario, the possibility of a deadlock should be taken into account in beforehand and prepared for. But analysis and planning of the process, not only the goals, will help negotiators to enhance the outcome (Fells 1993). Other important questions to consider before the negotiation is whether an offer has already been rejected by one party, which signifies 'disputes' or if the negotiation concerns a simple exchange between the parties (Thompson 2009).

Other aspects that frame a negotiation situation are linkage phenomena which are seen when a settled deal has ramifications in other parts of the organization or even outside, increasing the value of what is at stake in the negotiation. It hence is not uncommon that the outcome of one negotiation will affect the dynamics and result of other negotiations. This research field has developed fairly late in the history of negotiation research and recent studies show that dynamics of linkage phenomena appear more complex than perhaps previously anticipated. Crump emphasizes both the temporal relationship between negotiations which is essential to understand linkage between negotiations, as well as the enhancing or restraining in nature of these linkages (Crump 2007). A categorization of linkage effects was proposed by Watkins and Passow who define the following four types:

"1. competitive links (agreement in one negotiation precludes agreement in other linked negotiations);

2. reciprocal links (agreement must be reached in all linked negotiations for overall agreement to be possible);

3. synergistic links (enhancing negotiator opportunities to make mutual beneficial trades and/or reach an agreement); and

4. antagonistic links (diminishing negotiator opportunities to make mutual beneficial trades and/or reach an agreement)" (Watkins & Passow 1996).

This four-fold typology shows how past negotiations can affect the current negotiation impacts future negotiations and how parallel negotiations affect each other reciprocally or unilaterally.

In conclusion we see from the discussion above the variety of factors negotiators can take into account including knowing one's own parameters as well as (where possible) those of the opponent that give shape to the playing field as well as of the wider context.

3.6.2. INFORMATION EXCHANGE

The following section will deal with the actual information exchange taking place at the negotiation table up to, but not including the reaching of the final settlement. We have already discussed strategic approaches, the distributive and integrative, above and negotiation styles and skills have their own sections further below. Here the focus will be on how the negotiation process is impacted by the psychological processes framing and cognition, by emotions and communication, and finally by trust and power. The topics do not follow a specific order reflecting their importance or relevance during the different phases of the negotiation.

Moving on to the actual negotiation, Raiffa stresses that in the first step, the opening offer, the opportunity for the opening party is to anchor the thinking and discussion with their first proposal. The responding party may run the risk of letting this proposal steer the rest of the negotiation, which could be of great disadvantage for him or her if the opponents offer is extreme. As opener of the negotiation the risk is that one is too cautious with the initial offer, not stretching the other party in the desired direction. As one engages in negotiation consecutive rounds of markdowns are likely to follow, where the object of the negotiation asymptotically approaches defined or only perceived absolute limit, resembling the concession-convergence model (above). This process should be, in terms of number of iterations and pace, in sync between the parties (1982).

3.6.2.1. Psychological Processes

As with all social interactions – or possibly more than for most other social interactions, negotiations are steered by a multitude of psychological processes of the involved parties. Awareness of these processes is a great help for negotiators to correctly interpret the actions/reactions of the other party – as well as of one's own. The way we perceive our environment is influenced by many factors and when this perception is distorted we may experience negative consequences, which of course can be detrimental at the negotiation table. Examples of this phenomenon include stereotyping, jumping to conclusions about the opponent, selective perception and projection of own feelings and attitudes to the other party (Lewicki et al. 2011).

More specifically, 'framing' or interpreting a given situation may vary between observers during negotiation, but can gradually converge as issues are discussed over time. Frames may

include definitions of a wide variety of aspects involved in the negotiation at hand. One way to describe frames has been suggested by Ury et al, where interests, rights and power demarcate major categories (1988). In negotiations, power-based frames often lead to cementation of conflict, despite the temporary solution achieved. Frames oriented around rights usually needs an external arbiter or yardstick to settle the dispute, whereas interest frames more easily can accommodate compromises (Lewicki et al. 2011). We can here associate rights-frames interest-frames with distributive and integrative orientations or strategies, respectively. Contrasting frames often makes progress more difficult, whereas reframing, ideally by both parties, can enable the negotiators to move forward together (Lewicki et al. 2011).

In addition, the action upon information perceived may be appropriate or misguided and in the case of the latter this can be due to systematic errors called 'cognitive biases'. These biases can lead a party to compromised judgments and irrational decisions. No standard solutions to these problems have been presented but Lewicki et al. suggests that is important to "be aware of the negative aspect of these effects and to discuss them in a structured manner within their team and with their counterparts" (Lewicki et al. 2011:129).

The emotional aspect involved in the interactions shaping a negotiation is increasingly gaining attention. Through expressing emotions a party may emit important information to the opponent concerning, motivation, response to shared information and behavioural patterns in general. Positive and negative emotional reactions can then serve as feedback guiding possible adjustments if needed (Van Kleef et al. 2006). To what extent a negotiator is influenced by emotions shared has been shown to depend on the epistemic motivation; that is the eagerness to gather information and acquire insights about the opponent. Van Kleef et al. showed in a computer aided setting that the higher level of epistemic motivation the greater the influence of the opponent's emotions expressed in terms of yielding to an angry opponent. The epistemic motivation could be reduced by both personal as well as situational factors however. Thus high need for cognitive closure, that is the individual habitual tendency to invest less time and effort to gather and process information before taking a decision, as well as perceived high time pressure and perceived superior power position limited the epistemic motivation and hence increased the resistance to emotional messages (Van Kleef et al. 2004). Corroborating data have been presented in the paper "Get mad and get more than even: When and why anger expression is effective in negotiations" Sinaceur and Tiedens which showed in an experimental setting how anger expressions increased the tendency of the recipients to concede, provided they perceived their alternatives as poor (that is being exposed to a power disadvantage) (2006). In the international arena it has been observed that pronounced power imbalances between parties are often associated with strong emotional displays (Van Kleef et al. 2006). What appears form these studies is that epistemic motivation makes the receiver more vulnerable to concessions. Further research is suggested to find how epistemic motivation can enable a party to not only be impacted by, but rather decipher the information embedded in the emotional messages in order to make use of the

enriched content in the next round of interaction. Here, Gulliver's cyclical model lends itself to further analyses in this area also including emotional messaging in the recurring information exchange pattern of the negotiation process. Not surprisingly, negative emotions can exert negative impact on the negotiation process, pushing the negotiation along more distributive routes in addition to reducing the ability to sound judgment (Lewicki et al. 2011). Conscious or spontaneous use of negative emotional expression appears as exemplified above then to disfavour the recipient under certain conditions.

3.6.2.2. Communication

Having described some of the many psychological processes involved including emotions, which when expressed constitute an important form of communication in negotiations, we now turn to communication specifically. As for all social interactions communication is obviously crucial for the negotiation process itself. What is communicated covers more however than just offers and counter-offers. Lewicki et al. mention messages on alternatives to negotiation, outcomes, explanations, as well as discussions detached from the negotiation issue, dealing with how to improve the negotiation process itself (2011). Interestingly unique properties of negotiation in relation to communication have been identified. Putnam and Roloff states that "[n]egotiation differs from related types of communication by centring on perceived incompatibilities and employing strategies and tactics aimed at reaching a mutually acceptable agreement" (1992:3). The study of communication in negotiation processes have taken three main routes: 1) the role of verbal and non-verbal 'micro elements' in forming messages; 2) how tactical and strategic moves and the course of the negotiation studied have been affected by or reflected in communication taking place; and 3) analysis of 'systems of meaning' involving behavioural and cognitive aspects as well as the immediate and wider contexts of the negotiation (Putnam & Roloff 1992).

Concerning how to communicate there are important parameters that have been discussed. Signals emitted early on in the negotiation may influence the rest of the process. In terms of spoken language, Lewicki et al. describe the logical and the pragmatic levels, where the former communicates the content of proposals whereas the latter denotes inferred messages underneath, deciphered through interpretation of style, tone, metaphors etc. In addition to language there are numerous nonverbal means to communicate. The importance of establishing eye contact and other aspects of body language can send powerful messages to the counterpart (2011).

Miles argues that it is often emphasized by many negotiation scholars how important questions are for gathering information in negotiations. Still posing questions is an underused tool and gathering information itself is indeed not highly prioritized (2013). The overarching strategic frame of the negotiation will decidedly determine the use of questions – or the use of information gathered rather. Integrative settings are characterized by the shared ambition to discover trade-offs for both parties and therefore the questions are designed to probe the counterpart's interests and priorities. With this explicit goal sharing information is for mutual

benefit. In contrast, distributive framed negotiations questions aim to gather information in order to support the questioning party's arguments, also called 'substantiation', and if possible weaken the arguments of the opponent. Other aspects that influence the usage of questions include power balance between the parties (see power discussion below), and the need or desire to save one's own and/or the counterpart's face. When a party perceives a power advantage less sophisticated methods to overcome question resistance are needed than if the responding opponent has a similar advantage. The value of saving face relates to the social value of reputation and image and a negotiation itself constitutes a potential threat, particularly when the questions are framed along distributive lines (Miles 2013). This is often also the reason why questions are resisted by negotiators (Miles 2013), again illustrating the 'Negotiators Dilemma' discussed above. Lewicki et al. prescribe the proper use of questions, so called "manageable questions", that guides the discussion in the right direction and facilitates communication between the parties. In contrast, 'unmanageable' questions which rhetorically convey dissatisfaction, often provokes negative reactions from the receiver (2011). The second question type can of course also reflect anger as discussed above. Instead, broad questions based on the open interrogatives 'Why', 'What' and 'How' have been recommended to reduce the risk of question resistance and misinterpretation (Miles 2013). All questions even well-posed such have limitations however, as they can be evaded or misinterpreted by the other party, who in turn may respond in a misleading or unintentionally biased way (Miles 2013).

Intertwined with communication is of course the listening skills. There are different degrees of interactivity expressed in how one listens, from passive to active listening, which may be adopted by the negotiator depending on the situation. The aim should be according to Lewicki et al. to facilitate richer communication, which in turn enables the parties to better judge the other party's view (2011). One example is the role-reversal technique, where party A is invited to assume the party B:s situation and express what action he/she would take in this case (Lewicki et al.2011). Epistemic motivation (discussed above) appears closely relates to a person's listening ambition and performance.

3.6.2.3. Trust

Negotiation is a social exchange, as stated by Roderick et al., negotiation from a social contextualise model argues that in essence, humans are fundamentally social actors (1995:ix) and therefore negotiation happens in the context of relationships. It has been suggested that the development of relationships requires trust, which is presented as the variable that has possibly the most compelling effect on interpersonal and group behaviour (Ferrin et al. 2007), it is then not surprising that the concept of trust between the parties has been studied in order to better understand its role in the compound dynamics driving the negotiation process and influencing its outcomes.

How is then trust defined in the context of negotiation? An early definition by Deutsch states: "We define 'trust' as follows: An individual may be said to have trust in the occurrence of an

event if he expects its occurrence and his expectation leads to behaviour which he perceives to have greater negative motivational consequences if the expectation is not confirmed than positive motivational consequences if it is confirmed" (1958:266). Or put more succinctly: "Trust (distrust) means having positive (negative) expectations about another's motives" (Sinaceur 2010:544), or "trust as the belief that the other negotiator would be cooperative and mistrust as the belief that the other would be self-centred (Kimmel et al. 1980). Zand has suggested: Trust can be explained as the disposition to risk through "actions that increase one's vulnerability" (1972:230) [i.e. through information sharing] to a person whose behaviour is beyond one's control.

The behavioural aspect of trust has gained increasing interest among negotiation analysts and here trust has been defined as "one party's optimistic expectation of the behaviour of another, when the party must make a decision about how to act (under conditions of vulnerability and dependence), and as 'the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other party will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party'" (Lewicki et al.1998:139). The interest in collaboration is monitored through signals emitted by the counterpart. When such are lacking this can obviously raise concern for the opponent (Fells 1993).

Trust acquires meaning depending upon the negotiation relationship under study. For example, trust among negotiators can refer to a personality predisposition or to a transitory state that depends on the situation. Ross and LaCroix suggest three orientations for the situational case: "(1) cooperative motivational orientation, (2) patterns of predictable behaviour, (3) a problem-solving orientation" (Ross & LaCroix 1996:314). Concerning the more permanent personal traits Olekalns and Smith identify two archetypes of negotiators with different patterns of behaviour in the context of trust and relationships: "Individuals differ in the extent to which they focus on meeting their own needs and those of the other party: Prosocial individuals emphasize maximizing joint outcomes, or value creation, whereas proself individuals emphasize maximizing individual outcomes, or value claiming … Whereas prosocial individuals see interdependence as an integrative relationship based on trust, proself individuals see it as a distributive relationship based on exchange" (2003:234).

The link between communication exchange, trust and negotiation outcome has been studied. Zand's definition of trust mentioned above involved information sharing and here a spiral model is envisaged where information sharing enhances trust which in turn further facilitates information sharing. A buyer-seller experiment showed a strong association between amount of information shared and negotiation effectiveness and that the expectation of trust positively correlated to the information sharing and the climate of trust itself (Butler 1999).

Further studies have shown a more complex relationship between trust and communication however. We begin with a suggested distinction between distrust and suspicion, where the former denotes negative expectations and the latter ambiguity about the opponent's motives.

Both distrust as well as suspicion presupposes lack of trust however (Sinaceur 2010). The relevance of this distinction for information and trust was shown in an experimental setting where a higher degree of active information seeking was seen among suspicious participants than among trusting/distrusting participants. The highest negotiated value created was seen in settings with the combination of a trusting (information sharing) and a suspicious (inquisitive) participant – higher than in trusting-trusting pairs (Sinaceur 2010). Suspicion thus seemed to enhance the epistemic motivation resulting in investing more efforts in questioning. Exchange of information during the negotiation has been said is a sign of trust between the parties. But the studies mentioned above shows that search for information and questioning during the process could paradoxically be a sign of suspicion and the lack of questioning can be a sign of trusting the opponent. We conclude that negotiations happen in contexts rich in social interactions and that the trust factor plays defining role in how communicative tools are used as the negotiation process unfolds.

3.6.2.4. Power

The outcome of a negotiation is by most of us intuitively understood as a function of power possessed by the parties. Likewise, the understanding that power is exerting influence is also generally accepted (van Kleef et al. 2006). But how is this power in negotiation precisely defined? Zartman and Rubin define power as "… an action by one party intending to produce movement by another. Thus power is defined neither as source nor as a result but, in between the two, as a purposeful action…" (Zartman & Rubin 2000:8). In their discourse they then develop this definition and includes the perception of the power at hand to exert a desired effect on the other party (Zartman & Rubin 2000). When including the perception of power the definition tends to encompass qualities that belong to the source category, however. French and Raven (1959) present an early description of power identifying five types: coercive power and reward power to punish or reward the opponent respectively; legitimate power is based on hierarchical superiority; expert power draws on knowledge and experience; and finally, referent power is based voluntary submission (in van Kleef et al. 2006). These categories describe power relations in general social interactions, there are other more negotiation specific power parameters like a party's dependence on the negotiation event in the first place, inversely proportional to the best alternative to negotiated agreement or BATNA (described above) (van Kleef et al. 2006). The influence of other past or concurrent negotiations is another example.

How to evaluate power balance or imbalance (or symmetry/asymmetry) between parties and its relation to negotiation outcomes have despite these attempts to define power remained a very difficult exercise (Zartman & Rubin 2000). In order to reduce asymmetry in the negotiation structure, weaker parties have been shown to draw power from many different sources including interest in maintaining the relationship with the stronger opponent, as well as from mustering external support. Another common advantage of weaker parties is the observed pattern that they focus on fewer issues with a greater degree of granularity than

their stronger counterparts who often have broader range of interests to defend. And being able to enter the negotiation table in the first place is in itself an empowering step for a weaker party (Zartman & Rubin 2000).

In sum we have seen that the exchange of information process in the negotiation is influenced by many intangible parameters including psychological, emotional, communicational, trust and power aspects. For a rich understanding of the negotiation process dynamics, these factors need to be analysed alongside more tangible information such as content of discussions, resistance and aspiration points etc.

3.6.3. PACT

At the end of the negotiation process the involved parties' approach the moment when to choose among the alternatives that have been put on the table. It is common that at this stage most of the concessions are made (Craver 2003). The negotiation may have arrived at this point through different routes, as summarized by Spangle and Warren Isenhart: The incremental convergence route involves many small steps of mutual agreements (resembling the convergence-concession model), whereas the so called leap to agreement process postpones concessions to the very end. An initial endorsement concerning the overall aim of the negotiation can be arranged before moving into the details, which is the hallmark of the development of the agreements in principle approach. The procedural agreement type involves settling formalities around the negotiation in question as a first step (Spangle & Warren Isenhart 2003). Gulliver's empirical observations lead him to favour the incremental convergence route for the final bargaining process within 'pact': "[A]lthough there are several possible modes of behaviour in this phase, the predominant one is some form of convergent concession-making. That convergence may come through a gradual inching toward agreement … or through substantial concessions to or near the final outcome" (Gulliver 1979:164).

In addition there are different tactical approaches on the negotiators disposal for reaching an advantageous deal. Suggesting equivalent alternatives to choose from can make it easier for the other party to close. Alternatively, one party starts acting as if the closure is already reached and proceeds with the formalities directly. Suggesting going half-way from both sides can sometimes be the best compromise to bridge the positions. Exploding offers in contrast pressurizes the other party to make a decision with very tight timelines on a seemingly attractive solution instead of probing for other and even better opportunities. Finally, pre-planned concessions can be saved till the last minute to facilitate the closure (Lewicki et al. 2011), though taking into account the danger of making excessive compromises by wrongly gauging the pressure balance experienced by the parties involved (discussed below). Negotiation analysts have mounted two main theoretical explanations to understand reasons for concession making. One says that aversion of conflict escalation or negotiation protraction underlies concessions, whereas the other gives weight to the expectations of the opponent's

future concessions. The higher the expectation the more unwilling the negotiator is to make concessions himself (Gulliver 1979).

The risk for stalemate is not to be neglected. Raiffa also mentions the case when one need to act in contrast to previously expressed pledges, where new explanatory factors or information can be introduced to the negotiation table (1982). Cooper and Johnson investigated in an experimental setting seller and buyer negotiations and found that threats to self-esteem (even non-angry threats) could contribute to closure failures (Cooper & Johnson 2014). At some point during the negotiations, there is then no more room for concessions, which then need to be communicated to the adversary. Here, the inclusion of a mediator can sometimes resolve a break-down.

With all these potential closing scenarios and sometimes complications, it is important to be aware of some critical factors for successful settlements as suggested by Bingham (1986). Finding out early on the basic strategy model, i.e. integrative or distributive that the opponent has adopted is obviously critical. Here it is important to emphasize that competitive tendencies can increase substantially in the closure phase of a negotiation (Craver 2003). Gulliver has however observed how final bargaining can move from competitive to a more coordinating mode (1972). In addition it is highly recommended to probe for genuine motivation (your own as well as that of the opponent) in engaging in the negotiation process. Opponents with very limited influence in his/her organization will have difficulties safeguarding the commitment to an agreement and therefore understanding the roles of the participants around the table is instrumental for judging the chances for closure success. It is widely acknowledged that the desire to quickly reach an agreement can tempt negotiators to make excessive and unilateral concessions, which highlights the importance of proceeding the closing phase in an orderly fashion. Moreover, as usually a considerable amount of time and efforts have been invested to get this far, both sides are likely to have reached a tangible sense of commitment to a closure and awareness of the pressure experienced by the opponent should balance urges to overly concede at this stage (Craver 2003).

Craver describes an associated process following the closure, but preceding actual signing the agreement, called the Cooperative Stage. It is here additional options are presented in a phenomenon popularly called ‘expanding the pie’ that signifies attempts to increase the scope of the agreement at the very end of the negotiation process so as to create extra gains for the parties involved (Craver 2003). This cooperative element of expanding the pie is obviously intimately connected with the process of sharing the extra areas just identified (which shares similarities with the claiming value concept mentioned earlier), and this may in some cases involve competitive tactics (claiming value) employed by both sides.

The contract or agreement may be structured in different ways and three main categories can be identified: Single text procedures are developed by representatives of all parties involved, whereas two text procedures contain different versions from both sides which are then fused, and finally the neutral write-ups, which are written by an external person or agency (Spangle

& Warren Isenhart 2003). The agreement should then contain these essential components: Expectations of each party, Implementation of agreement, and timing of implementation, Consequences for failing to abide by agreement and Provision for further discussion if agreement needs revisions (Spangle & Warren Isenhart 2003).

When the necessary signatures have been put on paper the agreement has been formalized and confirmed. This is not the end of the story however – particularly if the agreement encompasses many individual elements. The next step is to ensure the agreement will be respected by the parties involved to secure successful implementation. Contracts may contain clauses that contain penalties of various kinds for non-compliance (Spangle & Warren Isenhart 2003).

In conclusion, the closure or pact phase is firmly integrated in the overall negotiation process and is framed by the unfolding of previous phases. And at the same time the pact phase has its own dynamic leading to a settlement and is followed by the implications on the continued relationship between the adversaries or partners involved exerted by the agreement.

3.7. NEGOTIATION STYLES AND SKILLS

The focus of the discussion will now be shifted to the personal characteristics including skills and styles of the negotiator and the influence these characteristics may have on negotiation processes and outcomes.

3.7.1. NEGOTIATION STYLES

Negotiation researchers have created or identified negotiation 'styles' to better understand and describe negotiators' intricate behavioural patterns (Schneider 2012, 2003, Shell 2001, Craver 2011, Raiffa 1982, Salacuse 2010, Lewicki 1997, Fisher & Davis 1987). Most negotiators tend to exhibit either a "cooperative/problem-solving" or a "competitive/adversarial" style (Craver 2011). This is reminiscent of the integrative and distributive strategy model categorization discussed earlier, and most style typologies are placed on this competitive vs cooperative style axis. Charles B. Craver (2011) identified some characteristics to differentiate between these opposite styles, see Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 Negotiation Styles

COOPERATIVE-PROBLEM SOLVING STYLE	COMPETITIVE-ADVERSARIAL STYLE
Move psychologically toward opponents Try to maximize joint return Seek reasonable results	Move psychologically against opponents Try to maximize own return seek extreme results

Courteous and sincere	Adversarial and disingenuous
Realistic opening positions	Unrealistic opening positions
Rely on objective standards to guide discussions	Focus on positions rather than neutral standards
Rarely use threats	Frequently use threats
Maximize information disclosure	Minimize information disclosure
Open and trusting	Closed and untrusting
Reason wit opponents	Manipulate opponents

As seen in this table the cooperative-problem solving style and the competitive-adversarial style closely follows integrative and distributive strategy models, respectively. Which style is then more effective? Empirical research by Williams and Schneider found that twice as many attorneys evaluated were perceived by their colleagues as cooperative rather than competitive and that cooperative negotiators were regarded as more effective than competitive ones (Craver 2011). However, O'Connor and Carnevale came to a different conclusion, based on own experimental data that showed higher joint outcomes for less transparent negotiation pairs (O'Connor & Carnevale 1997). As for the negotiation strategies discussed earlier, also negotiation styles may be combined. The so-called Competitive/Problem-Solver may employ competitive tactics while simultaneously using cooperative style behaviour, and if skilled could be seen as collaborative by the other party (O'Connor & Carnevale 1997). This approach would raise some ethical concerns though. The need for introducing competitive/distributive elements can however be seen when an originally Cooperative/Problem-Solver is confronted with a 'pure-bred' Competitive/Adversarial opponent.

Consider the following situation: The negotiator uses a friendly style when opening the dialogue to present her case then she encounters resistance an unfriendliness which leads her to move to a hard style claiming her rights and demanding a more sociable approach. She receives a better reaction from the officer. Then she takes a soft style again to react to the positive behaviour from the officer however he remains firm in his decision not to change deal conditions and as she moves on to the proposal phase she continues to encounter opposition. She manages to influence the officer by making him realized he will also gain value from the deal, obtaining a softer answer while the negotiation moves on and holding a firm approach with a friendly style she attains her desired goal. Based in this example the negotiators use both integrative and distributive strategies as well as friendly and aggressive styles.

Something that has troubled the discipline of negotiation style models is reaching a consensus regarding the definition of 'style' itself. Is style a strategic choice or a personal disposition or

a skill? (Ogilvie & Kidder 2008) The distinction between styles and strategies/skills has not always been very clear in the literature and several attempts have been made to clarify these concepts. A view that closely connects style and skills holds that choosing negotiation style is a skill that can be trained and positively affect negotiation outcome for the party in question (Ogilvie & Kidder 2008) It could hence be said that the action of selecting the most suitable skills to a specific context can be describe choosing the style. The communication of the other party can influence the style (Vetschera 2013) and in this line Ogilvie and Kidder state: "Style should be treated as observable patterns of behaviour, not traits or dispositions." (Ogilvie & Kidder 2008) Ogilvie and Kidder then introduce an important reservation reducing the voluntary aspect: "[N]egotiator style be used to refer to strategies and tactics – observable behaviours. These styles represent choices that negotiators can make, though not entirely at will" (Ogilvie & Kidder 2008:139) Kupfer Schneider maintains a similar view: "[W]e use labels to describe styles or strategies in negotiation, again to simplify complex behavioural patterns, to demonstrate contrasts and show students that they have choices" (2012:16). In contrast, Shell, based on his experience in training students in negotiation skills, gives very little room for free choices of styles: "Bargaining [or negotiation] styles, as I see them, are relatively stable, personality-driven clusters of behaviours and reactions that arise in negotiating encounters" (Shell 2001:156). And so do Gilkey and Greenhalgh: [negotiation style is seen as] 'patterns in individuals' behaviour that reappear in various situations through the mechanism of 'predispositions' toward particular courses of conduct" (1986:245).

As exemplified here, even a cursory review of the literature identifies profound discrepancies in the usage of the term 'styles'. Great caution is hence necessary and focusing on style labels is not always entirely helpful in that labels can "…hide the reality of what negotiators actually do, and need to do in order to be effective"(Kupfer Schneider 2012:13). Negotiators need to acknowledge limitations of style labels and oversimplifications as well as being aware of your own as well as your opponent's behavioural patterns in a negotiation situation. It is here held that style is to a great extent open for a seasoned negotiator's choice. And where conscious adaptability in style usage is possible then it can be an instrument of great utility for the negotiator (Ogilvie & Kidder 2008). This adaptability in turn, involves consciousness of the composition of style in terms of individual skills underneath (Brown 2012). The notion adaptability above leads us to the question on the skills a negotiator requires and how a negotiator ought to choose among the skills at hand in order to best perform in any particular context.

3.7.2. NEGOTIATION SKILLS

Among the many popular beliefs about negotiation one that has gained particularly strong foothold is that good negotiation skills are natural. Successful negotiators are according to this understanding born with superior communication, interpersonal and rational cognitive skills which in turn decisively shape any negotiation process (Thompson 2009). However, empirical data over the last decades have shown that factors other than personality traits, i.e.

factors related to negotiation situation and behaviour, more strongly affect negotiation outcome (Kray & Haselhuhn 2007). There appear however to be some space for individual factors according to Elfenbein et al. based on their recent findings (2008). Interestingly, Kray and Haselhuhn have reported that the belief itself in the malleability of negotiating ability, in contrast to viewing negotiation ability as a static given entity, is associated with better negotiation performance as shown in an experimental setting (2008).

Nobody would contend however the need of skills for successful negotiations. Hence, Lewicki describes a negotiation as "a complex skill" composed of a variety of components (Lewicki 1997:265). Thompson and Hastie view negotiation skills as vital for productive social interactions needed for the achievement of goals and that unfortunate outcomes can result from suboptimal behaviour of negotiators (1990). Likewise, Fisher and Davis suggest "a skilled negotiator not only has a broad repertoire of interpersonal skills, but also uses those that are most appropriate to the circumstances of a particular situation" (1987:117). Choosing interpersonal skills, as mentioned by Fisher and Davis, seems to be very similar to choosing negotiation style (discussed above), and here the discussion gives space for the skills and styles concepts to converge.

Negotiation skills has as a subject dramatically increased in popularity in the wake of the research results and perhaps more importantly constituting a common required professional skill, and a plethora of training programs and initiatives have been developed. According to Shell many negotiation courses and executive training programs cover the subject of bargaining [or negotiation] styles. The Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument (TKI) is a commonly used psychological assessment tool that helps students and teachers probe this topic (Shell 2001). The TKI measures the five conflict management facets proposed by the Dual Concerns Model: competing, collaborating, compromising, accommodating, and avoiding[10].

Coming back to our discussion on research models for negotiation it is interesting to note that both theoretical schools, the normative and descriptive can contribute to this developing field: "The demand for negotiation skills spurs the development of negotiation books, courses, seminars, cases, and teaching materials that require theoretical rigor and background. The existence of a normative theory by which to evaluate the performance of negotiators provides a foundation for meaningful research and theory. The existence of descriptive theory provides meaningful insights into negotiations as they typically unfold" (Thompson et al. 2010:496).

[10] The Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument (TKI) was developed as a research tool by Kenneth W. Thomas and Ralph H. Kilmann in the early 1970s. The instrument is based on theoretical refinements by Kenneth Thomas of a model of management styles proposed by Robert Blake and Jane Mouton in the 1960s. CPP, Inc. 2009. History and validity of the Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument. Mountain View, CA: CPP, Inc. Available from http://www.kilmanndiagnostics.com/our-mission-and-more.

Having discussed the different views on the nature of negotiation skills we move on to discuss a selection of general skills transferable to different negotiation contexts.

Raiffa relates to a study from Karras (1968) where bank lending officers have provided their suggestions of top characteristics of an effective negotiator. The top 15 of 34 characteristics are listed in Table 3.2 below (in Raiffa, 1982:120). Next to it is a list of Lewicki's list of key skills (not ranked) taken from a discussion on training negotiation skills (1997:265).

Table 3.2: Negotiation kills

○ Preparation and planning skill ○ Knowledge of subject matter being negotiated ○ Ability to think clearly and rapidly under pressure and uncertainty ○ Ability to express thoughts verbally ○ Listening skill ○ Judgment and general intelligence ○ Integrity ○ Ability to persuade others ○ Patience ○ Decisiveness ○ Ability to win respect and confidence of opponent ○ General problem-solving and analytic skills ○ Self-control, especially of emotions and their visibility ○ Insights into others' feelings ○ Persistence and determination Karras 1968 in Raiffa 1982:120	○ Understand the issue under dispute ○ Define or frame the issue in an appropriate manner ○ Redefine or reframe the issue of such a redefinition might lead to a better outcome (for one or both sides ○ Construct a line of argument to support what one wants out of a negotiation ○ Persuasively organize and present this line of argument ○ Listen effectively to the other side and ask questions to gain information and assure better understanding ○ Analyze the total pool of shared information so as to understand areas of agreement and disagreement ○ Creatively brainstorm and invent options to bridge these areas of disagreement ○ Articulate and record final agreement Lewicki's list of key skills (not ranked)

Comparing these lists we see that many skills have remained important over the years. For example, understanding information and persuasive communication are skills represented in both lists, but Lewicki also includes creativity or out-of-the-box thinking in the re-defining/re-

framing and brainstorming skill, which is not present in any of Karras's 34 characteristics. This could be a reflection of the fact that such approaches have been valued later, and of course the bank context could contribute to this as well. With the exception of listening skills (nr 5), the characteristics most valued in Karras's list appear to be related to analytic and cognitive qualities, rather than relationship building, which is represented further down (nr 11 and 14), again noting the bank situation.

In their outline of key skills and qualities needed for effective negotiation, Spangle and Warren Isenhart groups them into the three key loci Brain, Heart and Courage:

"Brain. Preparation and good questioning (involving persuasion, problem solving, concern for self-interest, strategic planning)

Heart. Listening skills, managing emotion, integrity (involving relationship building, concern for interests of others, fair process)

Courage. Speaking clearly, building relationships and creativity (involving sharing information, mutual gains" (2003:118 ff.)

As seen in this categorization, negotiation involves the negotiator in a holistic sense. All three loci need to be active and developed in an effective negotiator and are applied according to the specific context and phase in the negotiation. A great emphasis on interpersonal/relational skills is displayed here, possibly more than in Lewicki's and Karras's lists. Relationship management skills in Courage obviously constitute an integral component in interpersonal skills, but also listening skills and communication skills in Heart and Courage, respectively. Good questioning in the Brain category is regarded a cognitive skill and can nevertheless be greatly facilitated with interpersonal skills and the reverse, good questioning can contribute to development of a dialogue conducive to relationship development.

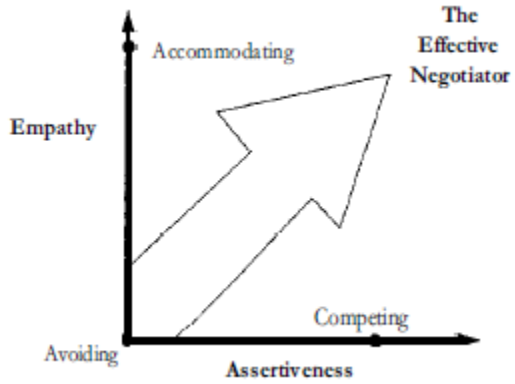
Interpersonal skills have indeed been given a prominent place in the negotiation training curricula being perceived as key faculties necessary for negotiation success over time (Mnookin et al. 1996, Davies 1983). Still, acquiring interpersonal skills can constitute a dilemma for many negotiators who have the ambition to understand their counterpart and at the same time defend their own interests and goals. Mnookin's et al. discuss this tension, which according to their terminology encompasses the tension between assertiveness and empathy (1996). Assertiveness is then the skill to advocate your own interests, whereas empathy is the ability to identify oneself with the situation and interests of the counterpart. Overemphasis on assertiveness can alienate the counterpart and drive the negotiation in a distributive direction. When empathy takes over then the risk of excessive concessions can increase. Empathy has historically been viewed as a cognitive phenomenon by some early scholars, followed by a trend towards emotional models. Later developments within this field have included both cognitive and emotional aspects into rather intricate constructs (Davies

1983). According to Mnookin et al. empathy as such does neither involve sympathy nor agreement and this view seems to relate more to the cognitive understanding of empathy, sometimes called perspective taking. They state that empathy "also involves the active expression of this understanding of the other side" (Mnookin et al. 1996:219). This understanding of the opponent through empathy can then be used to enforce both integrative as well as distributive strategies (Mnookin et al. 1996).

Likewise, assertiveness is also viewed as compatible with integrative and distributive strategies. As mentioned above assertiveness with claiming value for yourself is often associated with distributive moves. However, also integrative solutions of creative win-win types can be facilitated with clear communication of ambitions by assertive negotiation parties (Mnookin et al.1996, Ma & Jaeger 2010).

The observation that empathy and assertiveness are compatible with both integrative and distributive strategies leads us to question the perceived tension between empathy and assertiveness mentioned above. A resolution of this tension is therefore possible, in Mnookin's et al. words: "We propose that empathy and assertiveness do not represent polar opposites along a single dimension and that rather they should be conceptualized as two independent dimensions of negotiation behaviour. We hope to demonstrate that the most effective negotiators develop strengths along both dimensions" (1996:218). In the Diagram 3.2 below Mnookin et al. depict how utilizing empathy and assertiveness can move a naïve negotiator from avoiding behaviour to effective negotiation, avoiding one-sided accommodation or competitive behaviour (1996).

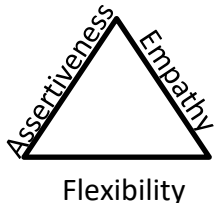
Diagram 3.2 Model for the negotiation variables empathy and assertiveness



To learn how to take advantage of skills belonging to the assertive category as well as those belonging to empathy is according to Mnookin et al. a key task for negotiation teachers and trainers, as well as using this framework for evaluation of specific negotiation situations and one's own negotiation performance.

A further elaboration of Mnookin's et al. negotiation skill model is seen in Kupfer Schneider's 'triangle of effectiveness' concept based her previous empirical research. The understanding on assertiveness and empathy follows Mnookin et al. above. But in addition to assertiveness and empathy a third skill dimension, flexibility is added (see Diagram 3.3. below adapted after Kupfer Schneider 2012:26).

Diagram 3.3: Three-dimensional negotiation skill model



This flexibility skill dimension is "the difference between basic compromise and a more interesting and nuanced collaborative outcome. Flexibility and creative thinking are different than either assertiveness or empathy" (Kupfer Schneider 2012:25). Proficiency in flexibility entails ability to move between styles according to Kupfer Schneider from "simple compromising to more sophisticated integrative solutions" (2012:30). Should we then position the flexibility parameter as a z-axis? I think not. At a closer look, this flexibility/creativity parameter seems to correspond to moving along Mnookin's et al. assertiveness-empathy dimensions to the upper right corner in their two-dimensional diagram. If so, then flexibility as an independent dimension is indeed put in question. Flexibility would simply denote the ability to move to a balanced and effective integrative negotiation situation.

The role of creativity is as seen above mixed with flexibility. We consider however, that being skillful in creating solutions and alternatives to conflict, disagreements or business negotiations has a place of its own. Simonton identified three basic perspectives taken in the study of creativity in negotiation: 1) 'person perspective' - the creativity of the negotiator/mediator, personality and cognition, 2) 'process perspective' creativity seen in psychological and emotional processes, including problem definition and resolution, and 3) 'product perspective' – creativity in creating value beyond the initial positions of negotiators in an integrative approach to negotiation (2003). Creativity relates to what is commonly called 'out-of-the-box' thinking, which lends itself well to innovative solutions where more than one party gains from the negotiation.

From her study results, Kupfer Schneider has also included Social Intuition and Ethicality as skills necessary for negotiation effectiveness. Social intuition embodies interpersonal skills with emotional and social intelligence as cornerstones, which should not be confused with personal disposition. Ethicality also has a bearing on relationship building by paving the way

for trust-building – and of course underpins a negotiator's good reputation in the long run (Kupfer Schneider 2012).

From a teaching negotiation skills' perspective, Olekalns and Brett notice that a more differentiated and complex picture of necessary negotiation skills is developing, expanding the traditional focus on creating a (often) economically superior deal, to also include various intangible aspects: "[N]negotiator's need to balance a mastery of substantive, deal-making skills with a mastery of complementary social and relation skills" (2008:310). Olekalns and Smith emphasize a teaching where students learn the value of non-economic or intangible aspects of negotiation and are encouraged to develop relational and interpersonal skills such as handling emotions, proficiency in improvisation and being mindful of the value of reputation in negotiation (2003). In the context of interpersonal skills it is interesting to compare Selman's (1980) analysis of interpersonal understanding/perspective taking and its development in children to adolescents. Selman describes the early (immature) perspective of the young child as only being able to use strictly unilateral egocentric strategies, evolving to increasing involvement of reciprocity and cooperation, and finally reaching the capability to understand the counterpart at a deeper level (in Reichenbach 1994:257-258). This progression obviously involves learning and applying increasingly sophisticated interpersonal and relational skills necessary for normal social interactions in everyday life (described in detail in Chapter V). In the negotiation-specific context these skills have as seen received augmented attention for their utility for negotiators. Reichenbach notes how the early egocentric negotiation strategies resemble competitive negotiation approaches, whereas the later development stages bear some of the hallmarks of cooperative or integrative strategies (1994). Here we must add that proficiency in interpersonal competencies not only empower the cooperative negotiator to reach integrative solutions, but also the competitive one to take advantage of the information registered for distributive purposes.

We conclude that competencies become an important fundament in developing into effective negotiators and therefore achieving profitable agreements. Which competencies that should be emphasized is another question; so far we have presented empathy and assertiveness as relevant for this negotiation discourse.

3.8. SUMMARY

In this paper we have presented an introduction to the negotiation field starting with the common understanding that negotiation permeates daily life, and that does not imply however that we are all efficient negotiators capable of spotting when a negotiation opportunity arises and handle the process so that favourable agreements are reached when a conflict appears or productive business deals are achieved.

Negotiation has developed into a multifaceted research field that with branches within many different sub-disciplines across contexts, cultures and geographies. Research has been done following two main methodological approaches, the normative and the descriptive, with

different methodologies and goals, but being increasingly used in combination complementing each other.

Concerning negotiation strategies scholars have differentiated between two negotiations strategies, distributive and integrative, where the distributive denotes competitive, win-lose, individualistic, zero-sum or transactional characteristics, and the integrative involves more cooperative, win-win strategies, where open information exchange can facilitate innovative solutions.

The study of negotiation has unveiled a very intricate social interaction with a high level of complexity in the form of a range of sub-processes including behaviour, emotions, cognitive perceptions, communication, trust/distrust, etc., which can contribute to understanding of tactical manoeuvres as the negotiation unfolds. Moreover, the negotiation process has been shown to encompass different stages leading to the final agreement or contract. Each stage displays its particular characteristics and sub-process repertoire. All the above depends in turn on the external parameters, such as setting, number of parties, repetitiveness of negotiation etc.

So far no grand unifying theory has been presented. A question that arises – and which is here left open – is whether negotiation research actually needs such a theory for its further development or for its impact on negotiation practice in various contexts. The incorporation of the diverse array of new insights into the body of negotiation knowledge prompts both a robust systematization as well as a discerning functional knowledge transfer in areas where negotiation is an underused instrument. Empowering negotiators through proper training with these insights carries the potential to significantly add value to society, and hence the applied negotiation disciplines are from this perspective greatly encouraged.

The fostering of negotiation skills is highly relevant for the main focus of this study, conflict between children in the friendship domain. This developmental facet of negotiation has been suggested in the literature. Selman et al. argue that learning active conflict management often begins between friends in childhood. It is here the child starts exploring the first steps in performing a negotiation process (1986). The importance of the peer-peer context for negotiations has also been suggested by Laursen: “Negotiation is the most common method of resolving conflict between close peers, especially romantic partners, coercion occurs infrequently. Coercion dominates conflicts with non-friends and siblings whereas negotiation in these relationships is rare” (in Bukowski et al. 1996:195). Therefore, the negotiation discourse presented here will serve to lay the groundwork for the discussion in the next chapter on the growth of interpersonal understanding / interpersonal perspective coordination and applied to negotiation competencies. The ambition of this work is to close the circle in the discussion chapter on the significance of development of negotiation competencies for peace education.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE GROWTH OF INTERPERSONAL UNDERSTANDING

4. THE GROWTH OF INTERPERSONAL UNDERSTANDING

4.1. INTRODUCTION

No doubt we human beings are born into this world to be submerged in a social environment which comprises both personal spheres and public spheres, or in the words of Erving Goffman: “Every person lives in a world of social encounters” (1955:213). And it is this world of social encounters that we are confronted with and explore as we grow and develop through an array of interpersonal activities. During this development different processes occur in which the actions of a specific individual or group influence another individual or groups predilections giving shape to a variety of relationships, exchanges, cooperation, collaboration, competitions or conflicts.

In this investigation, we aim to study children's social competencies in conflict situations and understand how they negotiate their disagreements. It is therefore central for us to consider what theoretically has been discussed in regards to social perspective taking and social perspective coordination and the relevance of these ideas in the growth of children’s social understanding.

Children's cognitive development is obviously a fascinating research subject in its own right and a subject where we all have first-hand experience. However, important aspects of this development will affect how we interact with one another, build and maintain relationships and collaborate. When the underlying processes on which these interactions are based get perturbed or developmentally delayed this can have implications in the social fabric of the family, school and even society. Here, the ability to understand other people, to coordinate interpersonal perspectives, and appropriately position oneself and one's perspectives in relation to those of other people is crucial for effective and peaceful resolution of conflicts.

We chose to investigate children's cognitive abilities to resolve conflicts and behaviour based on the developmentally acquired interpersonal perspective coordination that underpin negotiation strategies which in turn enable us to understanding children tendencies to enact non-violent conflict resolution competencies. Hence the concept of interpersonal perspective taking will be the red thread in this work with emphasis on the special area interpersonal negotiation strategies, which rests on the interpersonal perspective coordination framework. Here, Robert Selman's and co-workers’ contributions on interpersonal perspective taking and interpersonal perspective coordination with their application to interpersonal negotiation competences have been chosen as a foundation for the current investigation.

4.2. THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Before exploring Selman's work in detail we will discuss two main theoretical contributors to his theory, that is Jean Piaget, the main champion of cognitive development and Lawrence Kohlberg describing development of moral reasoning (1958), upon whom Selman has

constructed his theory on development of specific levels of interpersonal understanding. In Selman's own words: “In our interest in levels of development that satisfy the essential stage criteria of structured wholeness, invariant sequence and universality, our work is an outgrowth of the Piagetian tradition (Selman 1980:23). In addition to Piaget, Selman also builds on Kohlberg’s theory on children's development of moral reasoning as well as his methodological approach using dilemma discussions (Selman 1980:29, 35).

4.2.1. JEAN PIAGET

4.2.1.1. Overview

Jean Piaget (1896-1980) was one of the most significant researchers in the area of cognitive development during the 20th century, pioneering the study of children`s cognitive development in great depth in the words of Beilin “no one affected developmental psychology more than Jean Piaget” (1992:191). Although many of the principles he developed have been challenged by succeeding research (Larivée, Normandeau, Parent 2000), current research on cognitive development is still indebted to Piaget's innovative theories: “However, most of what we do today concerning methodology, theories, ideas and questions we raise are influenced by Piaget's thinking” (Gardner et al. 1996:112). Contributions to developmental psychology from Piaget are counted in the fertile theoretical framework through the great variety of his observations using many different tests although - all are not charted - is remarkable (Müller et al. 2009). That Piaget also argued that children ought to play an active role in constructing their own reasoning instead of being passive players, constitute a ground breaking finding in the developmental field (Thornton 2008:18). Beilin again notes: “To developmental psychology, he bequeathed a powerful conception of mind, through a constructivist perspective, as active in the construction of knowledge that swept away a variety of views of the subject as passive in the process of knowledge acquisition” (Beilin 1992:202). Flavell (1996:200) quoting Miller (1993) affirms that Piaget “altered the course of psychology by asking new questions that made developmentalists wonder why they had ever asked the old questions in the first place”. Concerning how children were viewed before Piaget, Flavell goes on quoting Miller (1993) arguing that “Once psychologists looked at development through Piaget's eyes, they never saw children in quite the same way”, He confirms the correctness of Miller's account and adds that “Piaget provided the field with an entirely new vision of the nature of children, and of the what, when, and how of their cognitive growth” (1996:200).

Piaget originally qualified in the areas of biology and philosophy and his primary focus related to the biological bearing on the emergence of knowledge or simply put how children come to know they know (Mooney: 2013; Gardner 1996:101). Piaget being influenced by Kant, considered himself a "genetic epistemologist“: “Piaget introduced genetic epistemology as a constructivist theory of learning rooted in psychology and biology” (1970/1972a:2). A recent definition is presented by Branscombe et al. (2014:9) describing constructivism as “a theory of knowing that emphasizes the role each person plays in constructing his or her own

knowledge rather than absorbing directly from the environment", meaning that the child is fabricating own information by reflecting on and interacting with the world around instead of just passively taking in others' observations. Constructivism claiming to be a theory about the process of active learning, we continue with Piaget's notions on learning, which fit squarely in the constructivist theoretical framework believing that human learning actively constructs knowledge. Peterson explains: "In Piaget's view, knowledge was not to be construed as pre-existing in reality, but only came about by virtue of the individual's formulations in response to specific observations and experiences" (2012:883). Knowledge is internally formed by learners making sense through their exchange the world around them, which comprises both the material environment and individual's social exchanges with other (Piaget & Inhälder 1969).

Jean Piaget (1970) hence investigated the intellectual development of the individual child expecting to find the answer to his search for understanding what he calls genetic epistemology, which means the origin of knowledge. Genetic epistemology has to do with the socio-genesis of knowledge, thus the development of knowledge over time, according to operative processes rooted in the common sense. Viewing children as "little scientists" (Gardner et al. 1996:113) he believed that children actively construct knowledge through their interaction with the environment and that children do this through the use of schemes which are structured ways of understanding the world (Beilin & Pufall 2013). He also emphasizes that learning of particular information or behaviour can happen merely within existing structures and finally he affirms that structures develop following laws that come from an organized world and opposite to behaviourist views: "The function of cognitive growth is not to produce cognitive schemes that are more and more veridical copies of reality, but to produce more and more powerful logical structures that permit the individual to act upon the world in more flexible and complex ways" (Gruber & Voneche 1977:xxxvii) This Piagetian view of cognitive development seems to depict development as not primarily enhancing understanding of the world, to acquire a truer picture of the world, but to be able to better interact with the world, and in more complex ways. One would here argue that it ought to be both ways simultaneously, implying that interacting with an erroneously viewed world inevitably will lead to interpersonal disequilibria.

Central in Piaget's models are the concepts of operations, schemes and stages. Operations are important since they constitute the most basic mental activities involved in reasoning and learning processes. In Piaget's view operations had a fundamental role: "[First,] an operation is an action that can be internalized; that is, it can be carried out in thought as well as executed materially. Second, it is a reversible action; that is, it can take place in one direction or in the opposite direction ... The third characteristic of an operation is that it always supposes some conservation, some invariant. It is of course a transformation, since it is an action, but it is a transformation that does not transform everything at once, or else there would be no possibility of reversibility ... The fourth characteristic is that no operation exists alone. Every operation is related to a system of operations, or to a total structure as we call it" (Piaget

1970:21–22). Hence, Piaget's concept of operations provides an ultrastructure of the total structure. And this total structure can for instance represent the realization that an object remains the same even after changing shape or being deformed (the conservation of matter) (Gruber & Vonèche 1977: xxxi).

4.2.1.2. Mental schemes

The child's mental schemes on the other hand, are processes of making sense of his or her experiences, processes that mature with age. Piaget defined a schema as "*a cohesive, repeatable action sequence possessing component actions that are tightly interconnected and governed by a core meaning"* (Piaget 1952:240).

The capacity of organising in humans' intellectual development entail the formation of schemas, which are mentally organized sets of related knowledge closely interconnected and directed by a primary denotation, within the knowing subject's collection of experiences (Piaget 1972). At first, Piaget argued that these schemes were action centred and that the child's physical interaction with the environment using the motor capacities permits acquiring understanding. Subsequently as the child grows, his or her understanding of the environment progresses to mental interactions as they are able to logically represent their surrounding world. These schemes develop, according to Piaget (1952), through two processes, assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation is the action of increasing the scope of events and objects that a child responds to; in other words, it is when the child uses the current schemes to integrate information and interpret the external world. For example, when a child notices a new object and that object is similar enough to an object he already knows then he incorporates the information about that object into his or her existing schemes, bringing equilibrium to the child's schemes since there is no challenge to the information that is already familiar to him or her. Accommodation, on the other hand, is when the child changes the system of knowledge. That is when the child is confronted with a sufficiently new object and is therefore challenged to adapt old schemes to new ones to better make sense of his environment. This experience acquiring new information has caused a disequilibrium provoking the child to accommodate the new scheme. Piaget stated that the processes of assimilation and accommodation are ongoing, leading to more complex schemes. Piaget thus describes development of cognitive structures or schemes, which increase in complexity and sophistication over time. Perhaps one could argue that Piaget assumed that two children would not have equal mental schemas even after having been exposed to and experienced the same specific activities revolving around a particular topic (i.e., geography lesson) in the classroom. Given that every child's personal life experiences and mental processing of these experiences are uniquely individual it can also be expected that functioning of schemas of one child is distinct from that of another child.

Concerning Piaget's view on his testing methodology, Packer (1985) quoting Broughton (1982) indicates that, Piaget associates thought and action by inviting action instead of judgments about imaginary stories as the object of investigation. Still it is known that for structuralists,

laboratory interviews have become common when using hypothetical situations. Having used hypothetical stories himself, Piaget acknowledged their limitations: “[When a child] simply has stories told to him, he will be led to make judgements devoid of pity and lacking in psychological insight…whereas in real life he would undoubtedly sympathize with those who from afar he regards as the greatest sinners” (Piaget 1965:185, in Packer 1985:1086).

Piaget developed a number of tests where he asked children questions and let them solve problems. Based on systematic observations involving many types of thinking and tasks (Piaget 1957) Piaget found that children would answer these questions and solve these problems according to their age, and that responses could be grouped according to levels of development, resulting in what Piaget called stage theory. The empirical approach of learning from children in interventional settings has been a successful route to understand their development, as proved by numerous investigators, including Selman.

4.2.1.3. Developmental stages

Piaget argued that there is a series of four defined successive stages that the child traverses during development. These stages have the following key characteristics in common: 1) universal affirming that they applied to all existing cultures, 2) sequential following an ordinal process, and 3) discontinuous involving a number of barriers to overcome resulting in a qualitative shift when moving to the next stage (Gruber & Vonèche 1977:24). Each discrete stage involves a time period of formulation and a time period for attainment that is exemplified by progressive organization of cognitive abilities: "The accomplishments of earlier stages are carried into later ones, but they are also integrated with new elements that appear to arise spontaneously in later stages" (Mussen et al. 1969:24). We infer from the description of accommodation involving transient disequilibrium that these are necessary for transition to the next stage. Here we would suggest that a multitude of intrinsic or genetic as well as external or environmental factors could affect the timing and dynamic of each such transition. Usage of well-defined stages simplifies analysis of children, identification of outliers or deviations, as well as potentially identifying specific cognitive gaps expected to be closed during the next transition**.**

4.2.1.4. Piaget’s four stages

Piaget's (1964) four stages are as follows:

1. Sensory motor stage neonatal - 2 years
2. Pre-operational stage 2 – 7 years
3. Operational stage 7 – 11 years
4. Formal operational stage 11 years - adult

4.2.1.4.1. The Sensory Motor Stage

The Sensory Motor Stage spans neonatal period to 2 years, and at this stage the child is purely physical and has no understanding of the outer world and although the child is able to see and touch objects he has no capacity to reason about them. Some fundamental pointers are acquired during this stage: First pointer is object permanence, which denotes the ability of a child to believe that an object continues to exist even when he no longer sees it. For example an eight months baby will not be able to understand that an object placed in front of him would continue to exist after its removal, where as one year old baby would continue to look for the object after it has been taken away from him demonstrating that at this age children understand object permanence. Second pointer is mental representation, which enables the child to internalize mental representations of the world that surrounds him and to store this information, which is an important key for memory and the fundament for role play and pretend play.

4.2.1.4.2. The Pre-Operational Stage

The Pre-Operational Stage operates between 2-7 years, the child reaching the level where he is capable of represent the world in his thinking yet limited to an egocentric perspective. Children at this stage can focus on only one dimension of a problem at a time. The child's inadequacy to coordinate multiple perspectives is characterized by his/her egocentrism affirming that the child at this age is unable to grasp that different people see the world differently than they see it. In Flavell's words he says that Piaget exposed the fact that children at this stage could not succeed in "reconstructing a chain of reasoning which they had just passed through; although they could think they could not think about their own thinking" (Beilin & Pufall 1996:118).

Piaget demonstrated this aspect through his "Three mountains task". He placed a child on one side of a mountain and asked him to draw it, and the child would draw it easily. But then Piaget would ask the same child to draw the same mountain as if he would be standing on the other side, the children often found this task very complicated. Piaget hence argues that the child is unable to conserve multiple perspectives, demonstrating through his experiment that at this stage the child focuses on just one physical aspect ignoring others. To validate this finding Piaget performed an experiment pouring liquid from and into containers of different shapes, using the same amount of liquid. In this experiment the child belonging to this developmental stage does not perceive that the amount of liquid is still the same although one glass is taller and the other is flatter. Through this finding Piaget defined the specific limitations of the child in his understanding and sense-making of the world, which in turn defines this developmental stage.

4.2.1.4.3. The Concrete Operational Stage

The Concrete Operational Stage covers the ages 7-11 years, involving a transition between the preoperational and formal operational stages. This phase is characterized by the development of logical thought demonstrated by a reasonably good capacity to inductive logic starting from a concrete experience and arriving to a general principle. However, children at this stage still wrestle with abstract concepts and deductive thinking, which encompasses using a general principle to conclude the outcome of a specific event. Normally, children at his stage have left egocentrism and are able to perspective taking by thinking about objects from others' point of view. The concrete operational child may not be aware, however, of the content of others' perspectives and this awareness comes during the next stage of cognitive development (Salkind 2004).

Concrete capabilities attained at this stage include conservation and reversibility. The concept of conservation is the capacity to understand that even if something changes in shape or appearance it is still the same thing. An example of conservation is the understanding that a lump of sugar has not disappeared after it has dissolved in a glass of water and that the level of the water in the glass remains at the same height as before the lump of sugar was dropped in to the water. Renshaw discusses that atomism is another scheme that is needed in the development of volume conservation according to Piaget (1977). This scheme qualifies the child to reflect about objects as composed of a given number of parts and by doing so the child is capable of determining that volume is altered only when parts have been added or taken away. Other abilities acquired include understanding spatial activities such as following directions and interpreting maps. During this stage, the understanding of reversibility is another significant development. The children have an increased understanding that actions can be reversed, which entails the ability to recognize that numbers or objects can be changed and reverted to their original condition. In the concrete operational stage children have moved from only one aspect in focus to give attention to various aspects of a problem they encounter at the same time, which is called 'decentration' the capacity to treat his own thoughts as objects of thought, moreover decentration is associated “with degree of differentiation in conceptions of reality, complexity in relating those concepts, and hierarchy in relating realities to each other. Instead of focusing on prosocial empathy, Piaget’s examples of decentring correlate development with ability to reflect, to gain enough perspective to be able to look back at one’s own perception and correlate it with other perspectives” (Peterman 2000:422). The child’s egocentric phase or incapacity to decentre is over and now he can think about others’ point of view, which has also positively influences in the capacity to do conservation.

4.2.1.4.4. The Formal Operational Stage

The Formal Operational Stage covers according to Piaget the time period from age twelve into adulthood and it is marked by the development of the ability to think about abstract concepts and the use of scientific hypothetical reasoning. At this stage logical thinking abilities become

much more refined and multifaceted, also entailing deductive reasoning and structured planning as skills used to produce innovative solutions to problems. Piaget argued that deductive logical reasoning during the formal operational stage was essential suggesting that the "what if type" of questions provided spaces for multiple probabilities and solutions. Deductive thinking initiates with a general principle to establish a particular conclusion or consequence. Children are generally concrete in their reasoning moving to a more abstract thought mode only during the formal operational stage. In this process they leave the exclusive dependence on earlier experiences and begin contemplating potential outcomes and consequences of actions. This type of thinking is important in long-term planning. Advancing their abilities to solve problems children change from only trial-and-error approach to systematically find solutions through a logical and methodical plan. Children also develop what is known as metacognition, Piaget's defines metacognition as the ability to think about own thoughts and consciousness about oneself as well as the ideas of others taking a third-person perspective and the capacity to communicate one's own reasoning. "These require a relativistic framework in which one's own perspective, reasoning, and actions are positioned as one of many possible perspectives and competing lines of reasoning or courses of action." (Fox & Riconscente, 2008:378). In order to understanding others Piaget argues "first, consciousness of oneself as a subject, and the ability to detach subject from object so as not to attribute to the second the characteristics of the first; Second, to cease to look upon one's own point of view as the only possible one, and to co-ordinate it with that of others" (Piaget 1959: 277). As we will see in subsequent sections below, this last ability is highly relevant to interpersonal perspective taking and negotiation abilities. With third person perspective coordination ability the adolescent can now question his or her own structures. Moreover, through deductive thinking he or she can constructively evaluate ecology, i.e. patterns of behaviour, and draw conclusions thereof.

4.2.1.5. Piaget's and the social role in development

In terms of perspective taking, Piaget (1932) established the capacity to shift perspectives as a central developmental step forward in cognitive functioning. Piaget's focus on mapping cognitive development processes in children with little empirical work if any on social factors influencing these processes constitute an important limitation to our discussion (see criticism against Piaget below) given the fact that the overarching goal of our investigation has to do with interpersonal understanding. Nevertheless, Piaget understood development of operational knowledge, knowledge about objects, as closely related to cognitive development necessary for social cooperation: "The individual would not come to organize his operations in a coherent whole if he did not engage in thought exchanges and cooperation with others" (Piaget 1966:174). Piaget did not however propose any unilateral causal relationship between the social and cognitive development but viewed them as parallel processes: "If logical progress thus proceeds in tandem with that of socialization is it necessary to say the child becomes capable of logical operations because his social development qualifies him for cooperation or should one assert on the contrary that is these individual logical acquisitions

that allow him to understand others and thus lead to cooperate? Since the two sorts of progress are on even terms the questions seems without solution except that they constitute the two indissociable aspects of a single and identical reality, at the same time social and individual" (in Doise et al., 2013:5). According to Piaget social interactions did not contribute adequately to cognitive growth, he placed major emphasis in the children's conception of their own knowledge instead of just obtaining it from the outer world, still he acknowledged social aspects as necessary and admitted profit from social exchanges to certain measure (Piaget & Inhälder 1969).

Reasons for Piaget not to give social factors the supreme developmental role in his studies could involve Piaget's respect for social factors and the need to understand them before using them as parameters influencing development. Piaget's ambition to describe acquisition of new knowledge, including necessary knowledge [derived from logical inference rather than observation or experience tbc], which is created more as a result of reflective abstraction rather than of social interactions. Likewise, the process of equilibration, when new knowledge is integrated in existing cognitive structures and transforming them, grew in importance in later work of Piaget, being understood as governing processing of other factors, including social ones. Lourenco and Machado assert however, that Piaget's theory comfortably lends itself to include also social factors, which would complement the Piagetian operative components with communicative elements (Lourenco & Machado, 1996:150-151). In his model for equilibrated social exchange Piaget coupled individual logical processes, or operations, to processes building social co-operations. The co-operations contains, according to Piaget cognitive and affective aspects, expressed in a communicative system, i.e. language or signs. De Vries explains Piaget's notation system for the steps taken by the parties involved in the interaction by visualizing each round of interactions as a circle. To make a social interaction or co-operation equilibrated, there needs to be genuine organization of experience leading to cognitive growth. Key elements underpinning such an exchange are:

- "A common frame of reference, shared language and symbols,
- Share conservation [confirmation] of propositions, and
- Reciprocity of thought among partners" (de Vries, 1997, 7-8).

When social cooperation is 'successful' the circle is repeated with subsequent interactions forming a spiral. Piaget's descriptions of the 'circular reactions' that occur in the sensorimotor stage are explicitly related to Baldwin's earlier work. He also stated that 'as Baldwin saw clearly, the formation of the self is connected to early interpersonal relationships and especially to imitation' (Piaget 1975/1985:76, in Tudge and Winterhoff 1993:64). De Vries, explains Piaget's notion: "When in an actual exchange conservation occurs so that the partners do not contradict themselves and continue to recognize and understand the other's point of view, the exchange is in equilibrium and can be said to be a system of co-operations" (de Vries, 1997:7-8). The circular imagery is also used by Gulliver (1979) describing reiterating

interactions in a negotiation process (discussed in the Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies section further below in this chapter).

The social interactions that together with the child's own cognitive structuring Piaget regarded most instrumental in development are those with other children: “It is with peers rather than with adults, the dominant mechanism driving development being ‘cognitive conflict’” (Tudge & Winterhoff 1999:312). Piaget argues that “Criticism is born of discussion, and discussion is only possible among equals: cooperation alone will therefore accomplish what intellectual constrain [unquestioning belief in the adults greater knowledge] failed to bring about (Tudge & Winterhoff 1993:69). Furthermore he states that, “Interactions between peers can be seen as both a cause and a consequence of the slow decline in childhood egocentrism that occurs between the ages of 3 and 7 (Tudge & Winterhoff 1993:68). Social factors of an interpersonal nature play an even larger role in children’s development once children are able to take another’s perspective into account (Piaget 1977), and peer social relations take on a key role in adolescence. Indeed ‘the organization of formal structures must depend upon the social milieu as well. Inhälder & Piaget suggest that a particular social environment remains indispensable for the realization of [the possibilities accorded by the maturation of the nervous system]’ (Tudge and Winterhoff 1993:68). The view held here is that the Piagetian description of adults' influence is rather stereotypical. There are other typologies than the autocratic (see below) – and indeed, Piaget himself as empirical investigator assumed a role in his interactions with children quite distinct from the traditional autocrat.

It is therefore interesting to compare Piaget’s view on social effects on cognitive development above with his position on social class, which is mentioned in several of his works. He compares a privileged class group with a underprivileged and asserts that appropriate contexts coupled with the broad-minded education style of a favoured social group is conducive to independent thinking**,** decentration and reciprocity. In contrast, Haroche & Pêcheux state that an unfavourable context combined with autocratic learning style of a deprived social group results in intellectual heteronomy and egocentrism (Doise & Mugny 1984:4). If the social context is not a causal agent favouring or disfavouring the cognitive development as one might intuitively infer, then these cognitive differences between social classes (if empirically corroborated) have to be explained in different terms. In contrast to Piaget's exclusive preferences of peer interactions mentioned above, the importance of positive adult influence is indeed – though implicitly - accepted by Piaget when he describes above a conducive context at school, where the teacher can encourage or suppress interactions that affect children's development. Surely, facilitating adults can positively impact children’s psychosocial development as shown in clinical settings (see Selman below) as well as in PE and other interventions. The view held here embraces the importance of combined interactions with adults and peers, where a parent or competent professional facilitator supports children's acquiring of cognitive and communicative tools, which in turn potentiates the peer discussions Piaget envisage – as well as interactions with other adults.

4.2.1.6. Moral Reasoning

Piaget in his book *The Moral Judgement of the Child* states that "All morality consists in a system of rules, and the essence of all morality is to be sought for in the respect which the individual acquires for these rules" (Piaget 1997:13). He was interested in how children form the sense of moral regulations and the respect for them (Piaget 1977:5). According to Carpendale Piaget's perspective on moral reasoning shows coherence with his view of cognitive development overall (Müller et al. 2009:270). He opposed both individualistic approaches that argue for morality as biologically evolving within the individual as well as sociological discourses that in Piaget's view may compromise morality by mistaking it with national motivations (Müller et al. 2009:115), or just the moral 'icing' on the cake of selfishness (Müller et al., 2009:271). Instead Piaget considered social interactions with peers as the main driving force behind development of moral understanding of the individual: "'[T]he primary condition of the moral life – need for reciprocal affection' (1997:176) is the foundation that makes the relationships possible in which morality develops. True equality and justice is the 'product of a life lived in common' and it 'must be born of the actions and reactions of individuals upon each other'" (Piaget 1997:318). Carpendale argues that Piaget regarded relationships of cooperation as highest form of social interactions: "[C]ooperation seems 'to be the limiting term, the ideal equilibrium'" (Müller et al. 2009:273). It is relationships of this type characterized, according to Piaget, by being "based on mutual respect [that] are best suited for reaching mutual understanding because people feel obliged to explain and justify their position as well as listen to and understand the positions taken by others. A sense of justice and fairness is based on persons being equally valued" (Müller et al. 2009:273). Here we would suggest that the establishment and nurturing of sustainable cooperative relationships is in turn dependent in particular negotiation skills to resolve conflicts. We hence see children's development of moral understanding as intertwined with the development of interpersonal perspective taking (elaborated further below).How these two developing processes interact with each other or potentiate each other warrants further studies.

Children's development of moral understanding is by Piaget divided in two partially overlapping phases or levels: 'morality of constrain' (also called 'moral realism') imposed by adults on the young child, and the later phase denoted 'morality of collaboration' implying a higher level of moral judgment based on mutual agreement. Puka explains: "Piaget believes that the young child's morality of constrain is the product of two interacting factors: cognitive immaturity and unilateral emotional respect for adults. The first is the most fundamental source; Piaget sees moral realism as one expression of a generally immature cognitive organization which is both egocentric and 'realistic'. Realism, a consequence of egocentrism refers to the child's confusion of subjective and objective aspects of experience. In the moral realm this confusion causes him to externalize moral rules and treat them as immutable absolutes, rather than as flexible instruments of human purposes and values. Manifestations of the contrasting moralities of constrain and cooperation typically exist in the same child"

(Puka 1994:322), and thus "[a] morally mature child can but does not necessarily, apply the principles of autonomous cooperation in his moral judgement" (1994:322).

For Piaget to consider the 'respect for rules' that children demonstrate in their games was a way to comprehend how the child form and develop their understanding of moral obligation and how and why they respect collective rules: "Piaget (1965) discussed examples of peer social exchanges and cooperation characterized by moral development and play guided by rules. Piaget thus held that moral judgment develops because of three main factors: general intellectual growth, experience of social equity with peers and liberation from the coercive constraint of adult authority, but his own work does not attempt to test these explanations" (Puka 1994:331). Thus, as seen in Piaget's understanding of cognitive development in relation to social factors, equal peer exchanges are (second only to cognitive development) the most important factors for fostering growing moral understanding. In the same vein, later researchers have stated that involvement in peer group activities are directly linked to moral maturity. There are other researchers, however, like Lerner et al., whose data show that a peer group morality can actually negatively influence children's moral judgment, and excerpt an effect resembling that of adult constrain (Puka, 1994:333). We may draw the conclusion that moral development in children is for Piaget a process closely linked with social interactions, either imposed by adults or developed/constructed through interactions with peers. The influence that adults may have as facilitators rather than imposers of children's development of moral understanding does not occupy a prominent place in the Piagetian tradition, however. This question would lead to the debated issue on how children's moral judgment progress when they are left on their own, famously narrated in William Golding's work *The Lord of the Flies*, and is open for investigation for instance in the context of street children in different parts of the world.

Piaget particularly emphasized the universality of the thinking. He therefore ignored aspects such as variations among individuals within a culture and the particularities across cultures (Gardner 1996:113). Gardner questions the existence of a "pure" or "universal" mind and answers by suggesting that each culture possess its own dimensions and forms of thinking. One could also suggest that thinking comprises both general characteristics that pertain to all humans and particular aspects attached to each culture. Adding to that several scientists argue that "intelligence has to do with differences among human beings, and Piaget has nothing to say about them" (Gardner 1996:113).

4.2.1.7. Criticism and Response

The statement above leads us to an overview of some of the most common criticisms of Piaget's theoretical framework (discussed in Lourenco & Machado, 1994), and in particular those that bear relevance to the subsequent contributions of Kohlberg and Selman, which models contain substantial material from Piaget, and on which the present study rests. As for all theories, also for Piaget's theory gaps have been pointed out and critical comments have been raised by scholars. Lourenco and Machado summarize a broad range of criticism against

the Piagetian theories and methodology: “The stage theory of Piaget is conceptually flawed (e.g., Brown & Desforges, 1977); Piaget is an author of tasks, not of theories (e.g., Wallace, Klahr, & Bluff, 1987); Piaget portrays the cognitive development of children poorly, as a "monolithic, universal, and endogenous" process (Case, 1992a, p. 10); Piaget is concerned only with description, not explanation (e.g., Brainerd, 1978b); Fischer argues that the explanations provided by Piaget's theory are false (Lourenco & Machado 1996:143).

4.2.1.7.1. Criticism against Piaget’s Stage Concept

The stage concept itself has been criticized and not regarded essential in his explanation of the theory. Some here claim that Piaget focused in using the idea of stages as a framework to categorize his discoveries. For example Driver argues that “The ways in which the task is set up and the data are processed mean that the structures underlying the formulation of the stage theory are not questioned. The data do not radically question the kinds of structures the children are using, but simply check whether or not the structures suggested by Piaget are present or not and at what ages they develop” (Driver, 1978:56). Other researchers like Gruber and Vonèche (1977) have criticised Piagets theory for the absence of explanation about how children move from one stage to the next stage, and in the same line we are not explained how a child develop from concrete thinking to abstract thinking neither we know about the attainment of object permanence in very young children. In addition, one is left without indications how many accommodations are needed for moving to the next stage, or how much time an accommodation process may take. Gruber and Vonéche (1977) pose some poignant questions on what early cognitive processes acquired will remain in later stages, as well as on the absoluteness of order of progression. The structure of cognitive development beyond adolescence, whether it involves stages or not, is also not defined by Piaget. That Piaget argued that intellectual development does not go beyond adolescence has been criticized by later investigators, who have stated that there could be more stages once the formal operations stage have been reached Gardner (1996:113). Another Piagetian claim is the orderly fashion of development. Describing characteristics of reasoning at a certain stages is however not itself showing that development is progressing orderly. Lack of robust of empirical data precludes conclusions on stability within a stage over time. Indirectly, temporal stage 'inertia' was shown however when Piaget's training programs failed to accelerate stage progression. Finally, Piaget's study designs did not allow testing the same child in different situations or tasks types, which makes inferences on coherence in reasoning profile difficult if not impossible (Gruber & Vonèche 1977:xxiii-xxxv). And if coherence cannot be assessed then a potential unevenness within a stage would put the stage concept self into question.

4.2.1.7.2. Piaget’s Alleged Underestimation of Children’s Competence

Among methodological limitations that have been mostly discussed Piaget's allegedly insufficient adaptation to children's verbal abilities and constrains, which often has led to

underestimation of their actual reasoning abilities, particularly of preoperational children (Meadows 1993:402 in Grave & Blissett). This notion is highly relevant for our empirical work that to a great extent is built on verbally transmitted input from children. Lourenco and Machado mention authors preferring non-verbal approaches to avoid underestimation: "They have argued that when children are asked to justify their judgments on Piagetian tasks, their "true" operational competence is not revealed because the procedure appeals to an additional linguistic competence that may lower the child's operational competence" (Lourenco & Machado 1996:153-154). Lourenco and Machado, counter this argument by saying that using nonverbal approaches only will not necessarily reveal a truer image of the cognitive abilities of a child, but rather a more narrow spectrum thereof, based on results from empirical studies (Lourenco & Machado 1996:154).

Concerning Piaget's conservative assessments of children in general, it has been asserted that modified study protocols, intended to reduce risk of false negatives, have indeed revealed novel abilities present at early stages. The question remains if these recent studies have given space to "conceptual confusions" and as a result measured different parameters to those that Piaget strived to identify (Lourenco & Machado, 1996:146). A compromise view could be saying that: "…Piaget might have been wrong about *when* a particular cognitive ability emerged, not about whether it existed" (Piaget, J. 1952:36).

At a deeper level, language-related criticism has emphasized the problem of probing mental processes by the methodological means of recording verbal responses from the children studied. It is a paradox to assess reason through language, in particular when Piaget did not incorporate language when defining operational thinking itself: "For if thinking comes mainly from the coordination and progressive interiorisation of actions (Piaget 1947/ 1967b, 1954, 1964; Sinclair 1969), then, as Larsen keenly remarked, to use language to explain and infer cognition is equivalent to using the effect of a cause to explain the cause itself" (Lourenco and Machado 1996:153-154). In defence of Piaget, one need to take into consideration the fact that a number of cognitive development processes take place before verbal communication is possible. Hence Piaget did not include language as an integral building block in his definition of operational thinking, although, as Piaget admitted, language when present is in continuous interplay with and further development of mental cognitive processes (Lourenco & Machado 1996:153). In our empirical design, and also in those of others (i.e. Kohlberg and Selman) we find [or assume] verbal communication sufficiently reflects actual cognitive processes, including interpersonal perspective taking, to be employed as study parameter, particularly when studying children of the ages of 6 to 12 where language abilities have normally reached a stage conducive as vehicle for information gathering but not completely since a child can through behaviour express more than through what he says.

4.2.1.7.3. Criticism against Focus On Performance

Another type of criticism raises the objection that Piaget's study set-up was too performance oriented and intended to measure a specific competence, but running the risk of neglecting

many other underlying factors that could potentially contribute to a negative outcome for a child under study. Lourenco and Machado relates one example of this line of criticism: “A Piagetian test invariably measures many other things than what it actually is supposed to measure. Therefore, it is always possible that failure on a Piagetian test results from these other things rather than from absence of the underlying concept. Siegel and Brainerd argue that this second interpretation is known as a 'performance explanation'” (Lourenco and Machado 1996:149). In our study on negotiation competences it is important to consider the relevance of this criticism. Although our most important tests, the dilemma discussions, are not of the 'pass or fail' type, they definitely assess competencies the children may or may not have acquired. Defenders of Piaget explain that as a trained biologist, Piaget prioritized the establishment of descriptive categorizations of hitherto uncharted theoretical territory: the development of understanding: “As biologists had done before, genetic epistemologists should begin with a taxonomy of the most general forms of thinking before attempting to explain them” (Lourenco & Machado 1996:149). Moreover, Piaget at the end of his career paid increasing attention to the broad range of additional factors, including situational performance factors, potentially influencing the outcome of tasks by his study subjects. His focus remained however on describing the role of pure cognitive processes, leaving functional and contextual explorations to posterity: “Finally, it was the sequence of the stages, not their dependency on age, physical experience, or social condition that intrigued Piaget” (Lourenco & Machado 1996:153). In relation to our study, we note the similarity in basic approach with Piaget in terms of descriptive interpretations of negotiation competences embedded in the framework of interpersonal perspective taking through utilizing competence-based analyses (dilemma discussions).

Although not important to Piaget, our ambition is to move beyond the pure descriptive assessments, and have included a limited number of contextual parameters in order to seek correlations with competences and complexity of reasoning. We hence conclude that criticism against Piaget's focus on endogenous competences can be nuanced from within the Piagetian system of theoretical constructs. At the same time we agree with the criticism that highlights the importance of keeping an eye on the balance between pure cognitive processers and situational performance factors when moving into functional and explanatory analyses.

4.2.1.7.4. Piaget's Developmental Synchronies

In our discussion further below on development of interpersonal perspective taking abilities we will conceptualize the cognitive evolution using Selman's stage models. These models are, as we can infer from the discussion above, derived from Piaget's stages. Criticism against the Piagetian stages as useful model system for describing growth in understanding is hence important also for our theoretical foundation. Critique against this stage construct points for instance out that Piaget believed different competence parameters to be 'synchronized' developmentally at a certain stage, and when empirical findings have failed to confirm this assumption the Piagetian stage system *per se* is questioned (Lourenco & Machado 1996:151).

Lourenco and Machado on the other hand assert that this criticism is flawed due a functionalistic misunderstanding of Piaget's theory. Though Piaget saw the stages as structures forming the whole, he did not infer that they determine reasoning and understanding of the stage at hand (Lourenco & Machado 1996:150-51). Instead, "these performances can be described by a common set of formal properties ... [g]enetic psychology takes mental processes in their construction and the [developmental] stages are preliminary tools to analyse those processes; they are not ends in themselves)" (Lourenco & Machado 1996:152).

Likewise, the objection that study results falsifies the notion of equally developed cognitive functions within a stage, is built on the wrong assumption of "Piagetian stages as chronological and global phases of development … in terms of age of acquisitions instead of sequence of transformation is at variance with Piaget's developmental, dialectical, and constructivist interests" (Lourenco & Machado 1996:152). In fact, Piaget goes as far as to saying: "There are no general stages … We see an intermingling of processes of development which are interrelated, but to different degrees or according to multiple temporal rhythms; there is no reason why these processes should constitute a unique structural whole at each level" (Lourenco & Machado 1996:152). This statement breaks up the integrity of stage structure and content somewhat, and as discussed below, Selman appears to see his stages of interpersonal understanding and interpersonal negotiation competencies as more homogenous. For our purposes, it is important to bear in mind Piaget's understanding of developmental stages as heterogeneous elements allowing for non-synchronized developmental processes at work in parallel. When zooming in on negotiation competences based on the spectrum of interpersonal understanding capacities acquired, the latter may to a varying degree influence the former.

4.2.1.8. Summary

We have presented an overview of Jean Piaget's work in order to provide a general idea of his foremost contributions to developmental research. In sum, Piaget's ground breaking research in the cognitive developmentalist area provides a discontinuous stage-structured model outlining children's cognitive development, primarily involving logic reasoning and to a lesser extent moral reasoning, communication and social interactions. The Piagetian tradition provides a foundation compatible with studies on the specific development of negotiation competences indicating that children go through inner logic processes of constructing own perspectives and with time develop and apply these to understand the perspectives of others. In spite of the flora of modern criticism Piaget remains a keystone in the field of developmental psychology, from which Robert Selman (discussed further below) obtained his developmental theory and developed the stages for his own theory of perspective taking development.

4.2.2. KOHLBERG'S MORAL REASONING STAGE THEORY

4.2.2.1. Introduction

Piaget's invention of sequences of cognitive stages through which each individual develops as he or she increases in knowledge of the world around commencing during early childhood received prompt acknowledgement by many scholars in America including Kohlberg. Lawrence Kohlberg's main source of inspiration originated in Piaget's view of moral development, positioning the individual's thinking as pivotal in the process of making moral judgements. Kohlberg built upon Piaget's work on the Moral Judgement of the Child and together with Kohlberg's own investigations he came up with a six stage moral reasoning theory in his seminal work (1958/1969). It was this research approach and methodology to moral reasoning stages that also inspired Selman's theory on the growth of interpersonal understanding. Kohlberg's major contribution to moral reasoning and his methodological approach are main aspects we will discuss in this section, as well as critical notions on Kohlberg's theories.

4.2.2.2. Kohlberg's Impact

Many authors describe Kohlberg as daring and innovative including Brown & Herrnstein who state that Kohlberg's research focus on moral development in the 1960s "made him something of an 'odd duck' within American psychology. No up-to-date social scientist, acquainted with [the relativism of] psychoanalysis, behaviourism, and cultural anthropology, used such words at all … [yet the development of moral judgment] is, after all, a very substantial aspect of human psychology" (Gibbs et al. 2007:444). It is clear that Kohlberg's developmental approach was opposing the current thinking of the time, which argued for a greater social responsibility influencing the individual's moral choices, in the words of Rest: "To Kohlberg, the socialization view seemed to trivialize moral development and reduce it to the simplest mechanisms of human functioning" (Rest et al. 1988:399). Kohlberg proceeded to use the cognitive-developmental approach to moral socialization. Once Kohlberg made this choice he initiated a revolution in the study of morality. Moreover, Kohlberg's development of the moral stages theory is by and large accredited to be leading the field ever since (Arnold 2000:366). Reasoning is in Kohlberg's theory placed at the heart of morality. He argued that moral judgment is the sole and most significant factor and single truly moral determinant of a person's moral behaviour (1984). Therefore, by disputing moral relativism, Kohlberg's furthering of a cognitive developmental approach to morality, six stages model, usage of dilemmas as an assessment technique, and his universal claims attracted so much attention that his views were repeatedly quoted among social and behavioural researchers. Indeed, Kohlberg's moral development stage theory remains a topic of study and discussion in nearly every contemporary developmental psychology textbook (Gibbs et al. 2007). Finally, based on research findings from journal citation list, textbook citation list and survey list Kohlberg was ranked nr. 30 among the "100 (99 Reported) Most Eminent Psychologists of the 20th Century" (Haggbloom et al., 2000:146).

4.2.2.3. Moral Development Stages

The cognitive-developmental model has its roots in Dewey's thinking. The approach is named cognitive because it implies that moral education as well as intellectual education is based on the provocation of the child to actively engage in reasoning about moral matters and choices. Further, "[i]t is called developmental because it sees the aims of moral education as movement through moral stages" (Kohlberg, 1975:670).

Dewey defined three developmental levels of the understanding of morality:

1) The pre-moral or pre-conventional level, where behaviour is dictated by basic instincts

2) The conventional level, where rules of the social context are adhered to by the individual

3) The autonomous level, denoting conscious reflection on behaviour and existing rules within a social context

Further empirical studies on moral development had been pioneered by Piaget (described above), who correlated a similar three-level system to children's actual age:

1) Pre-moral stage, with no awareness of rule adherence

2) Heteronomous stage, based on submission reinforced by punishment (4-8 years)

3) Autonomous stage, where standards are upheld through give-and-take transactions (8-12 years)

Kohlberg has used Piaget's developmental ground work – both theoretical as well as empirical aspects – for working out his moral development model. Kohlberg agreed with Piaget in opposing the idea that moral development is a simple transmission of moral rules from parents to children, and instead viewed it as incomplete and hindering a proper understanding about how moral norms arise. Piaget and Kohlberg also contended that moral growth is not just a process of engraving cultural norms on children. On the contrary, the question of morality is more than just adjusting to conventional norms they ought to be fashioned by individuals (Carpendale 2000).

Fundamentally Kohlberg's theory reports that moral judgment developed through a sequence of six stages. Kohlberg (1969, 1976) based on Piaget's stage theory (1965) outlines his own stage theory indicating three main benchmarks:

1. “Stages imply distinct or qualitative differences in children's modes of thinking or of solving the same problem at different ages.
2. These different modes of thought form an invariant sequence, order, or succession in individual development.
3. Each of these different and sequential modes of thought forms a ‘structured whole’. A given stage response ... represents an underlying thought organization which determines responses to tasks which are not manifestly similar.
4. Cognitive stages are hierarchical integrations. Stages form an order of increasingly differentiated and integrated structures to fulfil a common function” (Kohlberg 1969, pp. 352-353).

Concerning ‘structured wholeness’, Colby et al., assert that the logic of each stage forms a ‘structured whole’. They argue that their empirical data support this belief by explaining that a high degree of internal consistency in stage scores assigned, at least within those units that are conceptually and psychologically coherent (Colby et al. 1983:35). Critical voices against this structural understanding have been raised however. Teo et al. (1995) conclude that it is evident that the notion of structured wholeness in Piaget (1960) has been to a certain extent misconstrued by Kohlberg. Kohlberg, it is argued, is among those who overstates the importance of structure and ignores the contextual aspects of moral reasoning (e.g., dilemma characteristics, method of responding, audience). Others put the very concept of structured wholeness into question and go as far as claiming it is not grounded in reality. These views are allegedly supported by empirical findings that cannot be explained from a structured wholeness concept, but rather gives room for contextual explanatory factors.

Kohlberg’s approach involved probing children’s moral reasoning using fictitious moral dilemmas, an approach he expanded to eventually comprise empirical material from various geographical and cultural contexts. He then further developed this staging system into three levels subdivided into six discrete stages (outlined below). Kohlberg describes these stages of moral understanding as ‘structured wholes’ based on the assumption that children of a certain stage conform to the characteristics of this level. Further, higher stage of understanding requires understanding of the lower or preceding stages, and remaining at the highest stage reached is the predominant tendency of individuals with limited influence from adjacent (upper or lower) stages (Kohlberg 1975:670). According to Kohlberg, the key parameter is the developing understanding of **the concept of justice** during the progression from lower stages to higher: “The stages may be seen as representing increasingly adequate conceptions of justice and as reflecting an expanding capacity for empathy, for taking the role of the other” (Kohlberg & Hersh 1977:56). Kohlberg's understanding of justice is further discussed below.

Table 4.1: Definition of Moral Stages, adapted after Kohlberg (1975)

LEVEL	STAGE - orientation	Understanding of 'good' or 'bad'
I. Pre-conventional level	1. Punishment-obedience	Value determined by physical consequences and submission to power only
	2. Instrumental-relativist	Own needs define, including the concepts of reciprocity and fairness
II. Conventional level	3. Interpersonal concordance	What pleases others and intention behind actions define
	4. Law and order	Maintaining order is valued in its own right
III. Post-conventional, Autonomous, or Principal level	5. Social contract, legalistic, utilitarian	Overarching societal norms and pacts though changeable define and outside these personal convictions for other issues define
	6. Universal ethical principle	Abstract ethical principles of justice define, i.e. 'Golden Rule', 'Categorical Imperative'

The three levels are thus (in increasing degree of complexity and sophistication): Pre-conventional level, Conventional level and Post-conventional, Autonomous, or Principal level. Each of these is in turn divided in two consecutive sub-levels resulting in six levels in total, as outline in Table 4.1. In general, the earlier pre-conventional levels of moral reasoning are based on physical consequences and own needs rather than abstract principles. Further cognitive development reaching conventional levels gives room for acknowledging perspectives of others as well as of utility of basic rules. Finally, at the post-conventional level, previously acknowledged rules and perspectives are now viewed in relation to overarching principles governing society and may even transcend these in favour of abstract ethical principles defining justice.

Kohlberg specified that he assumes a cross-cultural universality of moral development: “All individuals in all cultures use the same thirty basic moral categories, concepts, or principles, and all individuals in all cultures go through the same order or sequence of gross stage development, though they vary in rate and terminal point of development” (Kohlberg 1971:175). His empirical research led him to think that the progress across the stages from pre-conventional through conventional to moral reasoning can be found universally. Kohlberg held that only a limited group of people in any culture in fact reach the highest moral stage. He also claimed that universality is implied in the associated normative claim that the last stage of moral reasoning, favoured by all individuals who can understand stage six, which is also the normatively most appropriate form of moral reasoning (Blum 1990). Challenging the universality of moral reasoning as Kohlberg defined it, Blum highlights the importance of particularity including the individual, the spatial and temporal context, and the specific situation. Moreover, Blum particularly emphasises a particularity aspect that resembles Selman’s famous concept of interpersonal perspective taking: “namely, the ability and

disposition to understand other specific persons in the individuality, and to be aware of what is going on with them in concrete situations" (Blum 1990:61). Snarey argues that Kohlberg did not sufficiently incorporate non-western philosophies in his analyses, in particular of later stages and states that "[t]he cultural specificity of principled moral reasoning has not been adequately explored" (1985:229). According to Snarey, there is a need for openness to consider other structure 'designs' in different cultures, which would open up for richer and more diverse models describing moral reasoning in various contexts.

4.2.2.4. Dilemma Methodology

Kohlberg's stages are defined by responses to a set of verbal moral dilemmas classified according to an elaborate scoring scheme (1975:670). Instead of focusing on "yes" or "no" replies Kohlberg focuses the thinking of the interviewee when validating the response. The 'Heinz Dilemma' is the most widely known and utilised and is presented below:

Heinz Steals the Drug

"In Europe, a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make, but the druggist was charging ten times what the drug cost him to make. He paid $200 for the radium and charged $2,000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together about $ 1,000 which is half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said: "No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it." So Heinz got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug-for his wife. Should the husband have done that? (Kohlberg, 1963:19)

This dilemma obviously forces the reader to reflect on values and in the Kohlberg's setting verbalise the moral reasoning which then is classified according the scoring system. Kohlberg's dilemma approach has by some been regarded "artificial and too abstruse"; the reliability and validity of his Moral Judgment Interview scoring system have been a source of continual dispute, despite extensive revisions; the developmental properties of his moral stages have been found suspect; and even their conceptual differentiation has been questioned, especially at the post-conventional level (Arnold 2000, 369). The method has however been qualified by Kohlberg and his co-workers who "have obtained quantitative estimates of the extent to which subjects respond in terms of one particular stage. Since some subjects might be in transition between stages, one does not expect perfect consistency. Nevertheless, Kohlberg found that subjects scored at their dominant stage across nine dilemmas about two-thirds of the time. This seems to be a fair degree of consistency, suggesting the stages may reflect general modes of thought" (Kohlberg 1971:3).

How is then the development of moral understanding related to general intellectual development of the child? Kohlberg sees a clear relationship: “Since moral reasoning clearly is reasoning, advanced moral reasoning depends upon advanced logical reasoning; a person's logical stage puts a certain ceiling on the modal stage he can attain” (Kohlberg 1976:32). In his discussion on moral stages, Kohlberg distinguishes between structures and content, where the former denotes the reasoning leading to a choice or judgment, which in turn constitutes the *content* of the moral judgment. Kohlberg's focus is on these structures of moral reasoning: “... [I]t is the cognitive moral structuring, or the organized systems of assumptions and rules about the nature of moral conflict situations which give such situations their meaning, that constitute the objects of our developmental study” (Boyd & Kohlberg, quoted in Kohlberg & Hersh 1977:56).

The judgment in turn is displayed in the choice made between different moral values in a situation of conflict between these values. Kohlberg lists ten major moral values: 1. Punishment, 2. Property, 3. Roles and concerns of affection, 4. Roles and concerns of authority, 5. Law, 6. Life, 7. Liberty, 8. Distributive justice, 9. Truth, and 10. Sex. The moral choice between conflicting values is done based on what is valued and why it is valued by the individual, and this is done differently in the different moral stages. Lower stages choose a value based on power and possessions and higher stages depending on inherent worth of the value itself (Kohlberg, 1975:672).

How then are moral understanding expressed in real life? Does one live up to the principles officially adhered to? Kohlberg introduced the term ‘moral action’ to describe the outworking of moral judgment in practice of the individual. Interestingly, Kohlberg notes that many subjects do not practically display the most advanced moral stage their level of reasoning actually would allow them (Kohlberg, 1975:672). Studies have shown that proportions of the subjects 'underperformed' in relation to their acquired moral stage. Kohlberg‘s theory has here been criticized regarding “its failure to provide compelling evidence of the role of reason in interaction with other components of morality, and of its link to moral behaviour in particular” (Arnold 2000:368).

Kohlberg admits that there are additional factors that are not strictly cognitive affecting moral action, including the motives and emotions and the 'will strength' of the individual, as well as of the characteristics of the particular situation. Kohlberg maintains however that although there are a number of factors in play, the moral judgment factor is the most important for moral behaviour, and in contrast to moral behaviour, progression of moral judgment stage is permanent.

Nevertheless, the developing individual is according to many scholars not adequately represented in Kohlberg’s model: “A number of critics have characterized the moral reasoner in Kohlberg's model (even, and somewhat ironically, the most mature reasoner) as a cold, rationalistic, disembodied person, out of touch with the realities of everyday life” (Arnold, 2000:369). We recall certain criticism of Piaget (described above) that goes along similar lines.

Complementing strictly cognitive explanatory models the validity of emotive/affective factors has indeed gained increasing attention based on more recent research including evolutionary psychology (Greene & Haidt 2002:517).

Take the example of the husband who beats his wife, although knowing it is against the law as well as against universal principles which he himself officially adheres to. He has hence acquired, not only the conventional level but also the post-conventional and his moral reasoning is able to operate at the 6th stage. His departure from this stage as shown by his moral actions (decision to beat his wife) are related to emotional and situational factors rather than rules or principles and reflects moral action that normally belongs to pre-conventional moral reasoning. When threatened to be sentenced to jail by judiciary authorities the husband permanently stops beating his wife out of fear. By in this way submitting to an agent with superior power, the husband's moral action (stop beating his wife) now adheres to the pre-conventional level. The pre-conventional level is however a pseudo-pre-conventional level, describing not his moral understanding, but his decisions to act. In fact, his decisions to act are not directly related to his accumulated capacity to reason about morality. We can hence from this example observe a dissociation between moral reasoning capacity and moral action.

What is a desirable moral development needs here to be defined and to do this one must to go beyond the stages and consult moral philosophy, in particular liberal rational school based on universal principles resting on the concept of justice: “The principle central to the development of stages of moral judgment, and hence to proposals for moral education, is that of justice. Justice, the primary regard for the value and equality of all human beings and for reciprocity in human relations, is a basic and universal standard” (Kohlberg & Hersh, 1977:56). The appeal of justice as the ethical yard stick is, according to Kohlberg and Hersh, not biased by personal belief and understanding the nature justice progresses in line with the cognitive development pattern in children. One could here argue that Kohlberg's choice of justice as the ethical benchmark parameter itself constitutes a belief in its own right. Moreover, though justice as principle is held high universally, how justice is understood and is played out in real life is very dependent on world view and sociological context. For Talibans it is just and right not to let girls go to school, although justice at the principal level should call for same educational opportunities regardless of gender.

The universality of justice, as Kohlberg defines it, has indeed been criticized among scholars: “‘Culturalists’, for example, have repeatedly challenged the appropriateness and applicability of Kohlberg's moral stages to the customs and traditions of life in other societies (Arnold 2000:368). Kohlberg and Hersh, however, hold that these discrepancies reside at the conventional level, where society is understood as the highest legitimate arbiter to choose what is right and wrong: “Eskimos think it is right to leave old people out in the snow to die. When abortions were illegal in this country, they were legal in Sweden” (Kohlberg & Hersh 1977:57). When laws based on conventional morality are in conflict with moral principles of

justice, then the individual is in his or her right to violate these laws. Later research reviewed by Gibbs based on meta-analyses of multiples studies in various cultural contexts has led to the conclusion that "Kohlberg was in principle correct regarding the universality of basic moral judgment development, moral values, and related social perspective-taking processes across cultures" (Gibbs et al. 2007:491). From a feminist perspective the use of justice as moral reference point gives a skew image of morality. Gilligan argues based on her own empirical research to have found limitations in Kohlberg's stage theory debating that views and experience of women, 'the feminine voice', have not been sufficiently represented. She argues therefore that women's experiences need to be taken into account when discussing development of moral judgements (1977). Likewise, Arnold later notes similar concerns: "Feminists (among others) have criticized the hegemony of justice reasoning in Kohlberg's theory, proposing that a more relational, "care and response" orientation is an equally valid conception of morality and one that is often more representative of the moral experience of women" (Arnold 2000:368). Interestingly, the cognitive development and growing understanding of justice is in Kohlberg's thinking intertwined with increasing capacity for empathy, where empathy facilitates taking other views and needs into account and thereby advance to higher stages of moral understanding: "Moral judgment, while primarily a rational operation, is influenced by affective factors such as the ability to empathize and the capacity for guilt" (Kohlberg & Hersh 1977:56-57). If the care element in the feminist "care and response" understanding of morality is dependent on affective factors, there could be room for building a conceptual bridge between the two views. It is here argued that Kohlberg's notion on 'empathy' as an 'affective' element, could however be misleading as feelings of empathy and guilt when distorted by i.e. conventional rules, can easily lead an individual to compromised moral judgment and even delay development of moral understanding. We would hence prefer to define capacity of empathy as a strictly cognitive rather than emotive process, akin to the established concept of 'perspective taking' which more easily fits into the mechanics of acquiring moral understanding.

Again the moral stage determines how the individual reasons about justice. Lower stages display concern for punishment, reciprocity etc., whereas higher stages can derive generally accepted rules and personal principles from the principle of justice in a way that does not include revenge and retaliation. Kohlberg holds that moral decisions made on the basis of universal principles are superior to conventional moral rules as the latter tend to differ between geographical and cultural contexts. Anticipating the discussion on interpersonal understanding below, we would here suggest that the ability to take a third person perspective – a hallmark of developed interpersonal perspective coordination capacity – would be a prerequisite to understanding the other person's rights and hence enable the application of a justice-framed interpretation of a particular situation. With this logic a link is suggested between moral development and interpersonal perspective coordination capacity, both dependent on cognitive development.

4.2.2.5. Moral Development and Moral Education

Kohlberg applies his moral development model to potential interventions within moral education. Since the understanding of moral principles associated with higher moral stage is desirable, the progression from lower to higher stages should be promoted and educational initiatives to this purpose are hence encouraged: “[T]he cognitive-developmental approach to moral education stresses open or Socratic peer discussion of value dilemmas. Such discussion, however, has an aim: stimulation of movement to the next stage of moral reasoning” (Kohlberg 1975:672). Kohlberg explains the central tenet of using moral dilemmas in moral education: “Moral Stages as a Basis for Moral Education Given the existence of moral stages, we hold that they provide a universal or non-relative and non-arbitrary approach to moral education. They define the aim of moral education as that of stimulating movement to the next stage of moral development. As we have begun to develop the process for doing this, it rests on having students discuss moral dilemmas in such a way that they confront the limits of their reasoning and that of their fellow students” (Kohlberg 1974:9).

Schools have according to Kohlberg, not been properly utilized for moral education, and moral and ethics have been avoided in the curriculum, being taught in the family or by religious institutions. Here the school can play a vital role, Kohlberg and Hersh hold. After all, “[w]hether we like it or not schooling is a moral enterprise. Values issues abound in the content and process of teaching.” (Kohlberg & Hersh 1977:53)

Kohlberg contrasts moral education with what he calls indoctrinative moral education or character education, which is based on relative moral rules rather than [absolute] universal principles that run the risk of clashing with contrasting moral rules: “Schools have been preaching a "bag of virtues" approach—the teaching of a particular set of values which are peculiar to this culture or to a particular subculture, and which are by nature relativistic and not necessarily more adequate than any other set of values” (Kohlberg & Hersh 1977:54). In contrast universal abstract, ethical principles of justice are culturally neutral and everywhere applicable.

Another approach is value clarification which aims to make receiver of this type of education more aware of one's own values and how their values may differ from those of others. Kohlberg's concern is that this method will eventually turn individuals to moral relativists. Moral development according to the developmental model avoids both indoctrinative and relativistic tendencies according to Kohlberg, since the progression involves reasoning rather than beliefs, taking into account diversity in the subjects developmental stage where the teachers input represents the subsequent stage. Again, the primary aim of moral education is developing an understanding of the concept of justice. “We said that a moral education based on the existence of universal stages offers a way out of the dilemmas of relativism and indoctrination in moral education (Kohlberg 1974:9)

Kohlberg sees civic or political education as derivable from moral reasoning. Based on empirical data Kohlberg concludes that an individual's reasoning on political dilemmas is determined by and matches the moral level attained. Kohlberg refers to the principles underlying the constitution of the USA as belonging to the highest (post conventional) level of moral understanding, and makes the notion that only a minority of the US population actually has reached this level themselves. Moreover, the educational system itself operates under the Stage 4, which, according to Kohlberg calls for interventions to bolster moral development.

The moral development according to Kohlberg is however in its essence and autonomous internal process of the child: "In the cognitive-developmental view, morality is a natural product of a universal human tendency toward empathy or role taking, toward putting oneself in the shoes of other conscious beings. It is also a product of a universal human concern for justice, for reciprocity or equality in the relation of one person to another" (Kohlberg & Hersh 1977:675). Kohlberg view the development as successive reconstructions resulting from moral encounters with his/her surroundings leading to adjustments better reflecting the context where he/she finds himself/herself. Here the stage of the parents and the discussion climate they foster plays an important role, as well as targeted school interventions in study settings. The concept of moral atmosphere, Kohlberg uses to describe how conducive a social setting is for moral stage progression. To this concept, he points out the importance of giving opportunities to taking another person's role as well as the general level of justice operating in the context in question. Finally, Kohlberg's model is important in social cognition and generally theoretically compatible with Selman's work. Also moral dilemmas an excellent source of data for the work of Selman purposes – a strong theoretical and empirical link between social perspective taking and moral reasoning and from a methodological point of view the approach and content of the moral dilemma are especially suited to asking subjects to weight various points of view (Selman 1980:36)

4.2.2.6. Summary

Kohlberg uses Piaget's model together with empirical findings from a variety of cultural contexts to develop a moral judgement framework based on stages of increasing moral judgement capacity. This capacity is determined by the level of differentiation of the reasons behind certain moral judgments. The progression of stages involves gradual transition from physical aspects where power defines what is right via understanding and acceptance of the validity of rules and regulations, to embracing of abstract universal principles, through which all other moral imperatives can be evaluated. In contrast to the Piagetian model Kohlberg's moral stages and judgement capacities are much less determined by cognitive development and age. Instead Kohlberg's stages are primarily influenced by environment, culture, social setting, experience and situational factors. The generality of the universal principles shows, according to Kohlberg, that the highest moral stage to which these principles - in particular the concept of justice - belong, is indeed the most desirable stage for the individual and for society. In contrast to Piaget's model, only a minority actually reach this highest level.

Educational interventions that facilitate progression of moral stage in terms of increasingly differentiated reasons for moral judgments among children and adolescents guided by Kohlberg's model are hence warranted.

4.3. THE GROWTH OF INTERPERSONAL UNDERSTANDING

Having discussed Piaget and Kohlberg, we are now in a position to interact with Selman's developmental models, which constitutes the most important theoretical framework used in the current thesis. Selman's research focus has been the way the developing child organizes social relations and concepts and based on his empirical data Selman has created a model describing children's normal development in their social understanding as they grow older. Furthermore, Selman also seeks to understand differences "between children's beliefs that are pathological, selfish or badly motivated, and those that are simply childish" (Selman 1980:3).

4.3.1. GENERAL THEORETICAL STRUCTURE

Selman's framework revolves around the concept of psychological development and its relation to our interactions with other people. "First and foremost, we are developmental psychologists, and among the cornerstones of out theoretical perspective is the assumption that human beings develop, grow, and change", Selman asserts (Selman 1980:13). He moves on to state that "[o]ur developmental perspective can be further defined as social-cognitive developmental". Selman's focus is on the development during childhood and adolescence of the abilities to coordinate different perspectives, one's own as well as those of others - simultaneously. In this development process cognitive aspects are intertwined with social behaviour. Social perspective taking is according to Selman a "social-cognitive process rather than a cognitive process applied to social content" (1980:22). Moreover, "we are seeking to describe how certain underlying social conceptions, looked at developmentally in children, help find meaning and structure to the observable social behaviours of these developing children" (1980:14). Selman is here not so much interested in finding causative relationships and explanations to individual children's behaviour as in describing behavioural characteristics typical for a certain developmental age.

Selman defines three key parameters for his social perspective taking construct:

"1. Social perspective taking includes a developing understanding of how human points of view are related and coordinated with one another and not simply what social or psychological information may appear to be like from an alternative individual's perspective as in the construct of role taking.

2. Social perspective taking also involves a developing understanding of the intrinsic psychological characteristics and capacities of individuals, not just the complex coordination

of decentred cognitive operations, that is, it has an intrinsically social component … the social or psychological content is inextricable and equally as important as the logical or operational structure which may in turn be its basis.

3. Because it describes a basic understanding underpinning the self-other relationship as it develops, social perspective taking provides a theoretical infrastructure upon which the child's understanding of a significant number of social and psychological relationships can be organized; social perspective taking can be viewed as an analytical tool for the researcher as well be seen as a key developing social cognitive skill or ability in the child" (Selman 1980:22-23).

Selman here strives to integrate the psycho-cognitive as well as the social-interpersonal aspects into one theoretical model that both describes the progression of abilities and therefore lends itself for in-depth analyses of children's reasoning and actions.

4.3.2. INFLUENCES FROM PIAGET, MEAD AND KOHLBERG

Selman derives substantial amount of his framework from Piaget's thinking, with a focus on a sequence of developmental stages representing cognitive stages or structures of reasoning interpreting events the child encounters. What distinguishes this line of investigation is the emphasis "on the structure rather than on the content of thought, on universal patterns of thinking rather than on emotions or behaviour" (Selman 1980:23). Specific Piagetian elements include: "stage criteria of structured wholeness, invariant sequence, and universality … focus on the form of thinking and the relation of expressed thought to underlying cognitive structure rather than on affectivity or individual or group differences" (Selman 1980:23). Selman recognizes that "the historical origin of the concept of social role-taking is based in Piaget's well known and perhaps infamous conception of egocentrism, the inability to take another's perspective" (Selman 1973:3), and acknowledges the application of the Piagetian framework to children's social development (Selman 1971a:1721), Selman does not however explicitly refer to Piaget's own descriptions of social aspects involved in cognitive development, i.e. Piaget's equilibrated social interactions (DeVries 1997), described above).

In describing the theoretical background of his work Selman also received influences from George Herbert Mead and James Mark Baldwin agreeing with them on the patent differences "between social cognition and judgment from the cognition of physical objects (refrigerators, stoves) because it uniquely involves 'role-taking', the ability to understand the self and others as subjects, to react to others as like the self, and to react to the self's behaviour from the others' point of view" (Selman 1973:3, quoting Kohlberg). From Mead's work Selman specifically draws on developmental stages of self and social understanding. Here, the so called 'play stage' denotes the developmental capacity of the child to act different characters in role plays. At the following 'game stage' the child handles social coordination of greater complexity to foresee actions of other players, and finally the perspective of 'the generalized other stage', involving understanding of community and society. Important in

Mead's theory, according to Selman, is the intimate connection of understanding of others and self-understanding where progression of the first invariably involves progression of the second. At the generalized other stage the individual's self is composed of own individual attitudes as well as of attitudes belonging to his or her social group (Selman 1980:25).

Kohlberg's moral stage model was also used as a framework for Selman's own constructs: “His [Kohlberg’s] model is one of the best known and most fully developed descriptive models of an area of social cognition. His theoretical background is Piagetian and Meadian, as is ours” (Selman 1980:35). Selman here also points out the strong link observed by Piaget and Mead as well as by himself, the link between social perspective taking and moral reasoning, where the latter is dependent on the former.

4.3.3. METHODOLOGY OVERVIEW

Also from a methodological point of view Selman is indebted to Kohlberg. Selman adapted Kohlberg's moral dilemma approach in an interview setting for his own studies on interpersonal perspective taking. Selman explains that the “moral dilemma, from dilemma plots to interview techniques to the development of a theory of moral reasoning and its validation was pioneered and refined by Kohlberg”, constituting one of the most popular and complete descriptive models in the social cognitive field and one that also largely corresponds with Selman’s own research (Selman 1980:34). The moral dilemma technique entails the participation of a child interviewee who displays his or her current organization of perspectives when interacting with the scenarios designed, providing the researcher with descriptive evidence of perspective taking. In addition, Selman mentions two additional reasons for adopting Kohlberg’s methodology. First, the fact that children in a general sense organise and comprehend their social world through perspective taking and their moral rationality will be influenced partly by their perspective taking. And second, the dilemma methodology and content appropriately allow the interviewer to gather children’s opinions about social relations, validate and balance various points of views on motives and feelings and conflict handling strategies as well as to follow up their answers. The type of information obtained was considered crucial in order acquire insight on how children’s perspective coordination could possibly be associated to social notions.

A dilemma example:

Holly is an eight-year-old girl who likes to climb trees. She is the best tree-climber in the neighbourhood.

One day while climbing down from a tall tree, she falls off the bottom branch but doesn't hurt herself. Her father sees her fall. He is upset and asks her to promise not to climb trees any more. Holly promises.

Later that day, Holly meets Shawn. Shawn's kitten is caught up in a tree and can't get down. Something has to be done right away or the kitten may fall. Holly is the only one who climbs trees well enough to reach the kitten, but she remembers her promise to her father.

Typical probing questions pursue information on children's associations among perspectives. "Does Sean know why Holly cannot decide whether or not to climb the tree? What will Holly's father think? Will he understand why if she climbs the tree? Open ended questions focusing conflicts within the interviewees' personal opinion, the point of view of each character in the dilemma and the relationship among the various perspectives are typically investigated. Using this approach to systematically map how children at various ages reason about perspectives in relation to concrete situations described in the dilemmas Selman and co-workers have built a framework of stages reflecting different patterns of reasoning and perspective taking.

4.3.4. SELMAN'S THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Based on the earlier theoretical frameworks outlined above, Selman now suggests a model describing development of interpersonal understanding. Selman (1975:3) states that a structural developmental perspective to social development's main enquiry is children's social thought and judgement. This approach is not limited to only find out 'what' children think but most importantly `how` children think about social occurrences. The 'how' of children's social reasoning is named *structure*, and 'what' is reasoned about is named *content*: "Perspective taking levels are skeletal structures' searching for content to which they can be applied" (Selman 1975:6, further discussed below). Fundamentally it is supposed that the structure of social reasoning progresses through an invariant order of stages qualitatively distinct from one another and yet hierarchically connected to the previous stage- to the extent it is built on the restructuring of the thoughts or concepts of previous stage into more adequate and comprehensive conceptions and thinking. Furthermore attention is given to developmental links among several areas of reasoning and based on stage description research 'structural similarities' (patterns of thinking seem common across incongruent content) throughout each of developmental stages are presumed. This supposition does not argue that stage theory indicates a clear-cut uniformity in reasoning about all experiences at any time in development. Selman instead acknowledges that "[a] child's stage performance at any given time is as much a function of what he is reasoning about (the context) as of his general cognitive capability" (Selman 1975:4). There is still room for situational factors affecting children's reflections. Conceptually, however, there do appear to be similarities in stages across various domains. Going further in terms of correlations between stages of physical and of social cognition there are also basal differences as is the case of social perspective-taking, which obviously belongs to the social cognition of the child.

In discussing the levels of social cognition as concrete Selman also admits that they are prescriptive because they do not contain psychological content. In the unproblematic acceptance of the logic supporting the universality of developmental structure of social perspective taking levels a problem arises at the same time in the real-world because if

definitions are excessively structural although universal they turn out to be a very thin portrayal of the individual child and social development. Stage descriptions built on rich content can well depict a vast number of children but will not cover all of them, however.

Before describing Selman's model and corresponding stages in some detail, it is important to mention three main assumptions: first, the concept of perspective taking includes evolution of "changes in understanding of relations *between* persons and changes in concepts of relations *within* persons" i.e. relations of emotions, thoughts and actions; second, the methodology applied should allow for flexibility in interview structure and content for optimal assessment of interviewees; and third, emphasis on development of "social cognition, not just one of cognitive structure applied to a social content" (Selman 1980:35). Again, the integration of children's perspectives including both understanding of other individuals as well as how they related to one another is central to the model.

4.3.4.1. Selman's Developmental Levels

Selman includes four distinct levels in this version of his model, ranging from zero to four, corresponding to the development from three years of age to adulthood. Here he also annotates to each level the style of conceptions of persons and style of conceptions of relations (1980:37, Table 4.2 below). The lowest level of understanding (Level zero) fails to differentiate between psychological and physical properties of persons and other perspectives than the own cannot yet be discerned. Subsequent level 1 is characterized by the ability to acknowledge overall psychological feature of others, and this is still accomplished through physical examination. The advent of level two is announced by acceptance of different and even conflicting perspectives, as well as of non-authentic actions

Table 4.2: Developmental Levels of Social Perspective Taking (adapted after Selman 1980:37-40)

Level 0	Undifferentiated and Egocentric Perspective Taking (ages 3-6)	
	Concepts of persons: Undifferentiated	Concepts of relations: Egocentric
	Cannot distinguish psychological and physical characteristics of persons with confusion between acts and feelings and between intentional and non-intentional.	Psychological differentiation between self and others not yet possible and differing perspective held by others is not acknowledged.
Level 1	Differentiated and Subjective Perspective Taking (ages 5-9)	
	Concepts of persons: Differentiated	Concepts of relations: Subjective

	Psychological characteristics of others are now discerned albeit interpreted as a monolithic entity not as a compound structure.	Mental states and perspectives of self and others are differentiated and are still regarded palpable by physical observation. Perception of actions are understood uni-directionally and when interchange is conceived it is in physical terms only.
Level 2	Self-reflective/Second-person and Reciprocal Perspective Taking (ages 7-12)	
	Concepts of persons: Self-reflective/Second-person	Concepts of relations: Reciprocal Perspective Taking
	Can understand perspectives of others and realizes others take perspective of own thoughts and actions. Begins to accept multiplicity and contradiction in thoughts and emotions. Acknowledges the possibility of discrepancies between actions and intentions, and between pretence and true motives.	Acceptance of variance between individuals' perspectives and values now possible, as also understanding of interchange at the psychological level. Able to see things from another person's view and acknowledges the possibility of misrepresentation of inner motives and external display. Mutuality in understanding of the perspectives taken is however not accompanied by apprehension of the relation as such.
Level 3	Third-person and Mutual Perspective Taking (ages 10-15)	
	Concepts of persons: Third-person	Concepts of relations: Mutual
	Ability to reflect upon oneself from 'the outside' as a third-person and accepting the relative continuity of patterns of perceptions and values of others.	Third-person perspective can be applied to self and others organizing multiple perspectives concurrently, and is capable of appreciating the value and efficacy of reciprocity in perspective taking *per se* between individuals in relationships
Level 4	In-depth and Societal-Symbolic Perspective Taking	
	Concepts of persons: In-depth	Concepts of relations: Societal-Symbolic
	Accepting existence of 'gaps' in understanding of one's motives for actions. Realization of personality as a comprehensive organization with its own dynamic over time.	Understanding that communication is comprised of multiple verbal and non-verbal layers of varying depth. Ability to conceptualize generalizations of perspectives to higher social orders: societal, ethical etc.

Selman corroborates his model through 3 empirical studies, including one longitudinal spanning 15 years to show the validity and reliability of the model. A recent example is the study carried in the US by Diaz Granados, Selman and Dionne (2015) to assess early adolescents' use of social perspective taking and the assessment instrument derived from

Selman's model could predict aggressive strategies of certain subgroups included. The study also demonstrated a negative association between social perspective taking skills and aggressive strategies.

4.3.4.2. Key Assumptions behind Selman's Model

Putting his model in scholarly context (publ. 1980), Selman notes that despite profound social changes in [American] society, with fluctuating values and attitudes concerning an array of social phenomena, including relationships between sexes and between adults and children, there is still a vocal strand within social psychology emphasizing a set developmental path that to a great extent shapes children's psychological and social growth over time. Proponents of this stage developmental line of research include according to Selman, Kohlberg (moral judgment), Turiel (mores and social conventions), Damon (friendship, authority, social convention, positive justice), Broughton (self, mind/body), Furth (occupational roles), Fowler (faith), and Selman himself (perspective taking, interpersonal understanding). These researchers share what Selman calls 'first-order developmental assumptions' (1980:76-79):

- Qualitative Differences:

Stages differ from one another at a qualitative level, involving reorganization of understanding concerning interpersonal relations leading to a new perspective. Quantitative accumulation of new information or knowledge cannot itself drive stage progression according.

- Invariant sequence:

The developmental dynamic is invariably unidirectional with each stage or level of understanding dependent on the establishment of the previous stage. This allows however for actions that normally are associated with a lower level than the last acquired.

- Structured Wholeness:

"Each stage of social understanding represents a structured whole across a range of concepts" (1980:77). Structured wholeness denotes existence of common features of the developmental structures suggested by the different related research approaches on social understanding. These studies have in many cases captured same structural aspects of the suggested stages, albeit from slightly different angles.

- Hierarchical Integrations

The models discussed generally imply a defined hierarchical structure where less complex stages are followed by more complex as the individual develops interpersonal understanding.

4.3.4.3. Stages and Levels

Concerning the nomenclature, Selman differentiates the terms *stage* and *level* within social cognitive development by stating "that the criterion of structured wholeness must be

demonstrated across many contexts or mode of functioning for stages, but levels only require a developmental sequence in the path of thinking about a delimited area of social events or relations" (Selman 1980:80). Moreover, some cognitive stage models are an amalgamation of cognitive and personality development aspects as the one from Loevinger, or like Kohlberg's model which entails cognitive moral reasoning complexity and prescriptive action choices. Consequently in these models the shifting of stage denotes not just conceptual alterations but also personality configuration, attitude, belief or action structure changes. Having said that, the usage of term *stage* is justified by Selman for the following reasons: First, Selman inquires on developmental transformation in reasoning schemes encompassing two components: *structural* (operative) – called perspective taking - and *content* (operated-on) – interpersonal concepts or issues. How the fact that taking into account these two components would support the usage of the term 'stages' is not explained by Selman however. Second, the growth of interpersonal understanding described in the model is primarily qualitative –are "paradigm shifts" contrary to additive accumulation of social information. Last, the understanding of 'structured wholeness' has to be examined taking into account the distinction between conventional or analytical and operational or observational models and therefore the criteria would also be different in each case. Levels on the other hand, denote both "developmental aspects of perspective taking to represent their relatively formal nature" as well as "ontogenetic changes in any particular issue (e.g., conflict resolution) within an interpersonal domain e.g., friendship)" (Selman 1980:80-81).

Concerning his developmental stage model, Selman concludes that "the child is not a passive recipient of what society (parents, educators, clergy, etc.) transmits; the young child comes to social experience with a set of immature but continually developing cognitive structures, which provide the means for the reinterpretation (assimilation) of social experience at a level that makes sense for a child. At the same time, relevant social experiences that do not quite make sense to the child at a particular level provide the elements for the child to change his or her own organizational structure (to accommodate) to one that is more advanced cognitively. The child is thereby able to interpret greater complexities in social organization" (Selman 1980:79). Selman emphasizes here that these shifts or re-organizations to higher levels are strictly qualitative due to the making of new connections of concepts previously regarded unrelated, which creates new meaning to the child. Selman and Schultz emphasize the experiential mechanism of stage progression: "These steps of progressive sequential discovery toward the mature coordination of social perspectives are naturally generated differentiations and integrations based upon the *meaning* children make of their own personal experiences and social interactions" (Selman & Schultz, 1990:7-8). The advancement of stages is seen as a set internal program that ticks as the child growths and learns from interactions with other people, but that is not primarily shaped by social currents and paradigm shifts in society. Selman explains the stage transitions as being driven by conceptual conflicts between existing framework and new information received that does not fit into it. When the new information is too complex the child will not wrestle with it to find a resolution. If however, the gap to close is small enough a new insight is added to the existing framework and if

necessary, an old wrong concept is rejected (Selman 1980:81-82). This step-by-step model of conceptual refinement is then understood as driving the succession of well-defined stages.

4.3.4.4. Comparing Selman and Kohlberg

Having described the basic architecture of Selman's framework we now briefly comment on its relationship with Kohlberg's analogous model. Essentially Selman's operational assumption is that "logically or conceptually, each level of perspective-taking is necessary but not sufficient for each structurally parallel stage of interpersonal or moral reasoning. It is here held that a stage of interpersonal or moral reasoning implies a specific level of perspective-taking but that a specific level of perspective-taking does not necessarily imply the structurally parallel interpersonal or moral stage, i.e., the child may have a perspective-taking level in one area but not see or seek to use it in another" (Selman 1975:4). In a footnote Selman compares Kohlberg's moral judgment stages describing how a person reasons about how one ought to act in relation to others in a certain situation, with his own levels of interpersonal perspective taking describing development of understanding of "how individuals *do* think and act in relation to each other" (1980:37). Selman notes that though there is considerable overlap between the moral stages and stages of interpersonal understanding, the majority of interpersonal interactions do not involve the moral element. Conversely, moral understanding does contain more parameters than those contained in interpersonal understanding. That Selman suggests that interpersonal understanding is always incorporated in the framework of a person's moral understanding makes sense, remembering that Kohlberg uses the ethical principle of justice as his main reference point in 'correct' moral understanding. And justice loses meaning if not relating an individual's actions to his or her surrounding social context. Indeed, Selman concluded in his earlier study, that "the development of the ability to understand the reciprocal nature of interpersonal relation is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the development of conventional moral thought" (Selman 1971b:79).

4.3.4.5. Questions Raised about Selman's model

Intuitively, the description of stage progression process appears to make a lot of sense, but the model is open for problematizing – in particular when confronted with common real-life experience. Here, Selman himself is aware of complexities that go beyond the explanatory capacity of the stage model: "the formal description of the development of social conceptions", which constitutes the "formal, structural analysis" and "the way these social concepts are actually used by people", which is the "functional analysis" (1980:76). Discrepancies between these two aspects represent an important motive of Selman's inquiry. There are open questions among researchers concerning the usage of the previously acquired 'obsolete' stages. Are lower-stage reasoning at all applied after new levels have become operational and if so, under what pathological or ecological conditions? Also here social context could influence how often and when a child acts according to a previous 'obsolete' level or stage. Here adolescent gang ecologies come to mind. The logic: "What person 1 from

our gang did against that person 2 from another gang was right since person 1 belongs to our gang" appears to discourage exploration of higher order levels potentially attainable according to cognitive state of the individual, or even invite a reversal to a previous level. Selman states that reversals to lower-level stages do indeed occur, whereas a 'ceiling' defined by the stage reached will always limit range of interpersonal understanding complexity. Acting at a higher stage than actually reached is according to Selman's model therefore not possible. Concerning 'underperforming' children and adolescents it was noticed that "[m]apping the growth of interpersonal understanding exposed a gap between this kind of understanding and social behaviour in many youngsters. We found we needed a theoretically consistent way to describe the relations between levels of interpersonal thought and interpersonal action" (Selman & Adalbjarnardottir 2000:50). The authors point out that intrinsic developmental level influence the vulnerability of ecological factors on behaviour in the case of commercials and alcohol drinking. Or conversely, under what circumstance is a youngster motivated to operate to the highest level? Are certain outer stimuli is required? One can here only speculate. Outer context would be a candidate factor for affecting the relative speed of stage progression. To outer context obviously belong key relationships. It is hence conceivable that interpersonal understanding can be particularly developed for certain 'others' to whom the child has a particular attachment. I recall some real cases where children from infancy have had an exceptional attachment to the father and also displaying remarkable interpersonal insights concerning him. The quality of the relationship is of course very likely to affect its impact on interpersonal development with others. In addition to ecological factors, one may ask whether there is question on intrinsic psychological factors like temperament and personality. How do you comply with a certain stage when having a particular temperament or personality trait? The methodological difficulties to assess intrinsic factors in relation to stage adherence and at the same time control for ecological factors are here acknowledged however.

Another interesting question concerns the existence of quantitative or gradual aspects in development of social perspective taking. Selman clearly keeps stages distinct form one another. But if stages are separated by gaps the child must leap across to get to the following but qualitatively different stage, could there be quantitative developments *within* a stage? One can here compare with the development of vocabulary that would be incremental and hence quantitative development process, whereas grammar and syntax appearing more like a qualitative process. Selman does not elaborate on intra-stage development. But surely, one could consider the possibility of a gradual consolidation phase after a new stage has been acquired and followed by attempts to re-organize information that intensifies before the qualitative leap to the subsequent stage takes place.

4.3.5. A SOCIAL COGNITIVE MAP OF INTERPERSONAL UNDERSTANDING

Having empirically validated his developmental model of Social Perspective Taking, Selman and co-workers now embarked on the next phase in their research, the analysis of

interpersonal understanding: “[T]o use … perspective-taking levels as an analytic tool, which use speaks to their validity only in terms of their utility, when seen as underlying structure, in making sense of children's expressed interpersonal reasoning” (Selman 1980:47). At this stage Selman's aim was to develop a “developmental-social-cognitive map” which would describe the normal development of interpersonal understanding in children in different social situations or domains.

4.3.5.1. Social domains

In his selection of the most important social domains which the map should describe, Selman chose four: persons/individual, friendship, peer group, and parents & children (Selman 1980:82). These four domains would provide material to the key theoretical inquiries on 1) “how children understand the nature of transaction, exchanges, and relations *between* individuals with differing roles and perspectives”, and 2) “the nature of the experience of conflicting or alternative perspectives *within* the same individual”. In addition, Selman explains that these domains are from a pragmatically perspective well represented in clinical literature as reflecting relations regarded influential on the individual's development. Moreover these domains (as noted above) are undergoing profound changes in contemporary society.

In the following step, Selman wanted to define a number of typical issues for each social domain, which were subsequently tested based on an exploratory pilot program of empirical observations. This was carried out mainly using open-ended interviews including 50 male and female subjects discussing hypothetical inter-personal dilemmas (1980:83-86). As a result Selman found patterns of issues across domains as well as across ages as summarized in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Issues of interpersonal understanding related to concept of the four main domains (adapted after Selman 1980:84)

INDIVIDUAL	**FRIENDSHIP**	**PEER GROUP**	**PARENT-CHILD**
1. Subjectivity	1. Formation	1. Formation	1. Formation
2. Self-awareness	2. Closeness	2. Cohesion-loyalty	2. Love and emotional ties
3. Personality	3. Trust	3. Conformity	3. Obedience
4. Personality change	4. Jealousy	4. Rules-norms	4. Punishment
	5. Conflict resolution	5. Decision-making	5. Conflict resolution
	6. Termination	6. Leadership	
		7. Termination	

The following inquiry, formal data collection, was performed through interviews where semi-structured questions were used based on the predefined issues and data collected and organized according to respective domain. Selman explains the rationale and goal of this particular interview methodology: “At this phase, the dilemma-interview procedure was not viewed as an *assessment of an individual's* thinking or ability, but as an *eliciting interview*, a means of gaining increasingly complete descriptive information about what concepts exist in the domain, a stimulus to thinking on the part of both interviewer and interviewee, such that together they could explore as thoroughly as possible each social relationship under examination” (Selman 1980:87).

Finally, the data gathered were analysed in order to describe the stage development of understanding of each interpersonal issue under the four domains, an 'issue-by-stage manual' (p88) resulting in a manual per domain. Selman observed overlaps between domains in discussing specific issues, where comments elicited shed light on stage status also for other issues under other domains.

Using the information Selman could construct a characterization of understanding at each stage relating to each of the four social domains (see Table 4.4 below).

Table 4.4: Levels of Interpersonal Understanding in Four Social domains (Adapted after Selman 1980:132-151)

STAGE	INDIVIDUAL	CLOSE FRIENDSHIP	PEER GROUP	PARENT-CHILD
0	Physical entities	Momentary physical interaction	Physical connections	Boss-servant
1	Intentional subjects	One-way assistance	Unilateral relations	Caretaker-helper
2	Introspective selves	Fair-weather cooperation	Bilateral partnerships	Guidance counsellor-need satisfier
3	Stable personalities	Intimate and mutual sharing	Homogeneous community	Tolerance-respect
4	Complex self-systems	Autonomous interdependence	Pluralistic organization	Not enough data for determination

Note: This model is later modified by Yeates and Selman (1989), where four levels (0-3) of Social-Perspective Coordination are presented (described further below). Below the different domains are discussed (Selman 1980).

4.3.5.1.1. Individual domain

Issues: Subjectivity, Self-awareness, Personality, Personality change

Stage 0: Physical entities

Self-image, personality and psychological states are understood based on physical appearance and physical state. Physical behaviour is not seen as causally resulting from psychological experiences, hence a good child is a child who did a good thing. Psychological states are understood as monolithic not allowing for compound experiences or feelings nor of being subject to fundamental change over time as for instance a child grows in stature over time.

Stage 1: Intentional subjects

Psychological states are understood as causing physical behaviour. Though acknowledged that different people can respond differently to a situation, each person is seen as having and inevitably expressing only one feeling in a given situation toward a specific thing. Personality is understood also in non-physical parameters, typically skills or knowledge, which can improve over time. Misrepresentation of actions through lying is possible but not of psychological states and genuine unawareness of feelings etc. is not yet accepted.

Stage 2: Introspective selves

Understanding now acknowledges that a person's outer aspect may not represent inner hidden reality and that persons can pretend – express something that does not reflect inner state. Inner experience has at this stage taken precedence over outer expressions, which are derived from the inner experience. The possibility to genuinely deceive oneself is not accepted, but rather the ability to 'fool the self' by forgetting in terms of decisively thinking and talking about other things. Multiplicity of simultaneous emotions in an individual concerning a situation is now regarded possible. Personality is understood as having different feelings, ways of thinking and patterns of acting in different situations, which in turn can be changed through "self-reflectively trying harder". Confidence in one's own capacity is for example regarded important for achieving better.

Stage 3: Stable personalities

Simultaneous conflicting thoughts and feelings are now appreciated as possible and the capacity to view oneself from outside, i.e. in third-person has now emerged. Here, no room is given for own psychological phenomena not visible to the person in question. Personality is regarded stable over time, and a composite whole comprised of inner attitudes and emotions, but where one trait or tendency is often overgeneralized. Self-deception is regarded possible if done deliberately, and is then easily unveiled to oneself when one so chooses. In addition to being the locus for mental processes the mind has at this stage acquired an active monitor function regulating what thoughts are allowed to enter the conscious space.

Stage 4: Complex self-systems

Mixed contrasting feelings can be understood as forming qualitatively new emotional experiences. The concept of genuine unawareness of certain own psychological phenomena, the unconscious, governing behaviour is also accepted. There is understanding that a personality can contain complex and conflicting psychological elements forming an 'integrative core'. Change in personality can take place both at superficial as well as deep levels.

4.3.5.1.2. Friendship Domain

Issues: Formation, Closeness, Trust, Jealousy, Conflict resolution, Termination

Level 0: Momentary physical interaction

Friendship are understood as transient relations based on sharing activities and is valued (i.e. trust) according to physical properties of the other person suitable for the shared play activity. Likewise do conflicts, envy and termination arise from situations concerning physical objects

or qualities of the other person. Conflicts are not possible where no direct physical interaction is possible.

Level 1: One-way assistance

The connection between inner experiences and external appearance and actions is accepted. “the new understanding that these 'psychological' perspective of self and other need to be seen as separate and independent, that is differentiated. However, the child is still not capable of understanding the reciprocal relationship between these viewpoints” don’t understand either.

Relational affinity is founded on shared activity preferences with limited interest in or understanding of the value of accommodation, where the concept of trust is now attached to goodwill other than physical ability – albeit only of the other person in a unidirectional way. Relational problems are in this level of understanding regarded unilaterally: “a problem is *felt* by one party and is *caused* by the actions of the other” (1980:107) and breaking up is likewise a simple one party decision. Selman describes three strategies for conflict resolution at this stage: stop or reverse the action; offer compensation; and an apology. Here, any heartfelt remorse of the perpetrator is not regarded important for the other party to accept the resolution.

Level 2: Fair-Weather Cooperation

The ability of reciprocal coordination is reached at this stage, although limited as a means for one's own benefit rather than shared benefit. Being able to appreciate others' views and preferences, authenticity of others is valued, and friendships are increasingly understood as something good in their own right. Trust is commonly appreciated in terms of keeping secrets and jealousy is associated with being disfavoured when another person is favoured – on one's expense. Conflicts are regarded mutual affairs, with the problem causing the conflict is apparently externally originated and not from within the relationship. It is now also understood that it is possible to say things you do not really mean, which facilitates subsequent resolution of the conflict. Strategies that are now accessible for the child include temporary separation in order to think things through and actively inquire of the other party, sharing one's motives and if possible convince the friend. Both parties need to genuinely approve the resolution in order for the conflict to be solved, which does not mean a genuine concern for the level of satisfaction experienced of the other party. During the 'conflict phase' of the relationship the parties do not see the other party as a 'friend', but the friendship quality of the relationship is easily restored, rendering friendship a fluctuating property over time.

Level 3: Intimate and Mutual Sharing

It is now possible to uphold the friendship above own immediate needs and desires, and to serve both parties in terms of mutual benefit. Friendship is seen as being able to remain intact over time and it is also possible for understanding at this level to view the relationship from

'outside'. Moreover, friendship is understood as sometimes needs to develop over time in order to function, where trust occupies a pivotal place in the relationship, where intimate cerebrations and emotions are safely shared. The sense of 'we' can be firmly established, where a party rejoices when the other succeeds (for example two friends take part in a competition one qualifies and the other does not), and the value of protecting the friendship is acknowledged. Some problems in a relationship are acknowledged as originating in the relationship itself and incompatibilities in personality can prevent development of a friendship in the first place. Many conflicts can be resolved by discussing the issues, which in turn is a sign of commitment from both sides. Within the area of communicative interactions it is interesting to note that Selman's model has been used also in the area of communication research, where Jürgen Habermas has used Selman's perspective taking stages for his own model building describing development of interpersonal communication behaviour and strategy (Habermas 1989. At this level of the Close Friendship Domain, talking things through to solve a problem is understood to potentially reinforce the relationship itself, provided oneself AND the other party are truly satisfied with the resolution. The strength of a relationship to survive conflicts relies on deep bonding between the friends over time. Nevertheless, overtly breaking the mutual trust can threaten this foundation for the friendship.

Level 4: Autonomous Interdependence

At this stage the 'linear' development of interdependence bringing individuals closer to one another has assumed 'higher order' function, with new and perhaps counter-intuitive trends: "If Level 3 understanding can be characterized as an interpersonal orientation based on a close-knit mutuality, Level 4 can be seen as a partial rejection of that mutuality when it precludes autonomous growth and development. At first, what we hear from subjects is the rejection of a perceived overdependence or over-bonding in Level 3 relations. This move, in moderation, can be viewed as independence, but in its extreme is a counter-dependent position. … This independence, based on an understanding but partial rejection of mutuality, is itself subsequently tempered by the belief that total independence is as futile as total dependence" (Selman 1980:112-113). In this vein, an increase in independence is interpreted as progression in interpersonal understanding. This independence must not be understood as abandoning the previously attained concept of mutuality characteristic of level 3. Instead, the concept of mutuality has become more discerning and hence more differentiated in level 4. With the increased awareness of the complexity of self comes the understanding that different types of relations serve different purposes, filling different needs in a person. The need for identity confirmation or affirmation is thus filled by close friendships, which characteristics however can change over time. Initiating a close friendship normally takes time where concord of personal attributes is a key success factor. Here it would have been interesting to hear Selman elaborate on the impact on a relationship of the involved parties individual levels of interpersonal understanding. How does one relationship develop as the subjects involved progress through the levels? Does a new relationship start with subjects 'performing' well under their nominal level who then gradually mobilize the intrinsic

interpersonal understanding capacity approaching nominal level? The word 'gradually' is used on purpose to contrast the step-wise stage progression suggesting a quantitative process – possibly based on increased trust between the parties. This quantitative aspect of relationship development in relation to interpersonal understanding needs to be confirmed empirically however. Another question is the functioning of 'hybrid' friendships with differing levels of interpersonal understanding represented, and how stage progression as well as under/over performing is affected by the unevenness. Problems in a friendship are understood to sometimes originate from intrapersonal factors leading to interpersonal issues, whereby self-understanding is seen as a necessity for successful friendship building and maintenance. When established at this level, the other person's need for additional relationships including friendships is acknowledged. This leads to a less proprietorial attitude to another person, and jealousy is therefore less a result from other relationships alone, which are not to the same extent seen as competing phenomena as in earlier levels. Instead the underlying ambition of a genuine friend is to foster the development of the other person, which requires simultaneous growth of independence and dependence adding to that one can also say that discernment to know the when to do what is also necessary. When this common foundation for the friendship is not any longer present it is understood as normal to terminate the relationship and finding new friends compatible with a Level 4 relationship. Conflict resolution now also relies on 'passive diffusion' of the problem, where one does not need to explain everything in order to settle a problem, although smooth communication is seen as an asset for solving conflicts. Individual personal problems are now understood as potentially disturbing relationship.

4.3.5.1.3. Peer Group Domain Domain

Issues: Formation, Cohesion-loyalty, Conformity, Rules-norms, Decision-making, Leadership, Termination

Stage 0: Physical connections

A group is defined by physical association and by shared activity and is hence situational in character; when the shared activity is interrupted the group as entity automatically dissolves. The concept of genuine cooperation is not understood and therefore not the need to set group goals above own needs. The value of leadership for the group is not yet understood but direction is accepted without reflection on benefits for the group, where leadership ability is associated with physical superiority to control a group. "The group is analogous to strangers riding in a subway train, together only in body, not in spirit" (Selman 1980:143).

Stage 1: Unilateral relations

Groups are formed in order to establish an activity by members contributing using their abilities, without attempting to generate a joint achievement by higher level organization of efforts. The added value of different types of contributions for the common good is not understood, hence "group collaboration is viewed unilaterally" (Selman 1980:143). Kindness

to other group mates is understood as facilitating cooperation but not as true reciprocal acts, a property still reserved for physical actions. Leadership is causally associated with reaching common goal, where alignment often is expressed as somewhat stereotypical adherence to specific rules. Authoritarian leadership is accepted to a certain limit, but apparent reflection on what characterizes good leadership is still lacking.

Stage 2: Bilateral partnerships

Reciprocal emotional ties are now possible between members where dyadic friendship is multiplied being reinforced through giving and receiving acts of kindness, but conceptual relations network is kept at a dyadic, one-to-one basis. The formation of a true a group level architecture is not yet possible, however, nor is the common benefit of a higher-level relational structure grasped. The importance for the group of uniform thinking on is accepted, but restricted to concrete aspects of shared activities.

Stage 3: Homogeneous community

The organization of the group is now understood as separated from individual relations within the group forming a complete social entity. Bonding in the group is dependent on shared values and preferences- made evident in shared activities- with a strong focus on establishing and maintaining consensus. Here, individualistic tendencies are seen as threatening the group structure and cohesion. Though leadership is valued as showing the way forward for the group, the lack of formal loyalty limits the leader's ability to gain acceptance for difficult decisions. Group integrity is also vulnerable when shared values are seriously questioned or violated. Here we find a relation to Stage 3 friendships where consensus rather than pluralism is valued.

Stage 4: Pluralistic organization

Uniformity in thinking is no longer the condition for group function but rather the understanding that individual contributions from different kinds of people enable the group to achieve, representing a deeper level of mutual dependence and openness to a multifaceted group composition. Sharing individual opinions is seen as enriching the group and it is acknowledged that differences are not always solvable through consensus but through compromises. Interpersonal conflicts do not necessarily jeopardize the integrity of the group itself as long as overarching goals are adhered to. The freer discussion climate is compensated for by formal rules that reduce possibility for disruptive deviations from goal, purpose and identity of the group. Groups can however still fragment as a result of party formation within the group. Looking at concrete examples we see that a professional group may only reach level 1. An orchestra or football team depends on pluralism in contributions but cannot function with diversity in values or opinions. This specific lack of diversity is however mostly accepted and regarded functional by the professional members of the group, and is dependent on the quality of the leader of the group.

4.3.5.1.4. Parent-Child Domain

Issues: Formation, Love and emotional ties, Obedience, Punishment, Conflict resolution

Stage 0: Boss-servant

The relationship between a child and a parent is to a great extent defined by physical superiority of the parent to enforce the parents will on the child but also the parent's ability to provide for and love the child. Obedience of the child is understood as a characteristic in this type of relationship but underlying purpose is not clear. Punishment is associated with and defines wrong behaviour as well as causing conflicts between the child and the parent, but the underlying causality of disciplinary actions is often confused and the overarching purpose is not understood. Conflict resolution is not yet a comprehensible concept and conflicts are passively dissolved with time when the child forgets the conflict. The boss-servant' term unfortunately brings in the notion of the parent being served by the child. In contrast one could argue that it is the parent who serves the child by providing for its physical and emotional needs, simultaneously maintaining absolute authority over the child, a rare combination in relationships, (cf. patient-physician/nurse relationship).

Stage 1: Caretaker-helper

The parental function of 'knowing what is best' for the child is now acknowledged by the child, and understood as a means for providing support and protection. In return the child provides company and help with for instance chores. This exchange also includes children showing obedience and gratitude in return for the care of the parents. Punishment is understood as an instructive and protective measure and is thought as payback compensating the offense of the child.

Stage 2: Guidance counsellor-need satisfier

The emotional reciprocity between child and parent is understood at this stage, where the child can value and show appreciation when a parent devotes time for the child. The parent in return understands the child's needs, which now in the child's understanding includes psychological and emotional needs in addition to physical needs. At this stage, the child begins to show concern for the welfare of the parent. In addition, the parent serves the important function in giving guidance to the child. The growing diversity in interactions between child means that harmony in relationship is dependent on additional factors than just obedience. The realization of imperfection of the parent's judgment further relativizes obedience and is not any longer the absolute paradigm it was. Likewise, punishment is understood as not always being successful in correcting a child 'at heart', though clearly communicating the parent's values. Conflicts result from having different views - not only from mistakes

committed - and from the parent's neglect of a child. Solving conflicts do not yet have elements of true compromise and mutual understanding, which the child begins to question.

Stage 3: Tolerance-respect

A deeper understanding of the parent is achieved as the child is able to take a third-person perspective seeing the parents (potential) need for influence and authority as a psychological extension of the self. Having children is understood as a source of both satisfaction as well as feelings of insufficiency among parents. Children expect good parents to actively contribute to and facilitate psychological development and maturation of the children, in particular by showing love to the child. In doing so, the parents should show tolerance - though parents' limit setting is appreciated by some children - and the children should take the parent's needs into account. Differences in position and function, and the tension between growing independence of the child and the need for retaining authority of the parent inevitably lead to conflicts, where resolution not always involves finding a consensus and sometimes need an external mediator.

Stage 4: Not enough data for determination

For description of stage 4 understanding Selman admits that not having enough data precluded analysis. Selman speculates that "a major emerging theme would be a conception of the parent-child relation as an ongoing changing system, unique in human experience, in which autonomy and interdependence are established, but fluctuate throughout the life cycle" (Selman 1980:151).

4.3.5.2. Summary

In sum, Selman's mapping of interpersonal perspective coordination comprises 5 perspective-taking levels, 4 relationship domains, 22 associated interpersonal issues. Selman summarizes the description of stages and domains by allocating these two categories to complementing dimensions, where the developmental stages form the vertical dimension whereas the domains comprise the horizontal 'axis'. To conclude this section Selman's presents his two-dimensional construct including the key domains described as representative of the child's reality and providing a guideline to explore children's growing capacity to perspective taking.

4.3.6. INTERPERSONAL NEGOTIATION STRATEGIES

4.3.6.1. Introduction

A subsequent development of Selman's interpersonal perspective taking theoretical constructs is the model describing Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies (INS). Interpersonal problem solving in schools are central and ubiquitous to the life of children and so is the complexity of these interactions ranging from classroom agreements in picking who opens or

closes the classroom door to group work agreements in terms of choosing the theme for the art project to physical fights to decide who will take the ball next. Yeates and Selman regard schools as ideal for foster children's and adolescents' social skills: “Indeed schools provide a unique context for the promotion of social adaptation, in that children's social interactions there usually occur under the watchful guidance of adult professionals dedicated to facilitating their charges' overall well-being” (Yeates & Selman 1989:65). As it appears efforts to empower children with social problem solving competencies still have a long way to go to stimulate children to opt for and practise social fine-tuning strategies in order to create a school climate that is peaceful and friendly. Yeats and Selman agree that the school context for interventional programs for social development of children and adolescents has not yet been optimally used. They mention the Social Problem Solving (SPS) skills model and interventions, which they do not find completely successful in terms of social coordination progress correlated to SPS skills. More specifically, SPS models have been found wanting, particularly concerning the following: “[B]y not defining the nature of social competence; by not specifying either the social-cognitive components and processes that constitute SPS skill, or the nature of their development during childhood; and by not articulating the relationship between social competence and social cognition in specific social contexts” (Yeates & Selman 1989:66).

From a different perspective, that of developmental roots of peer social status in children, Yeates et al. (1991) also notice limited progress in research published. Describing various research approaches to study peer social status among children Yeates et al. include both behavioural and skills-focussed approaches as well as those looking into psychological cognitive factors and structural models. The second category entails both Piaget’s and Kohlberg’s work discussed above. Yeates et al. emphasises the importance of not using one perspective in isolation, which they regard an important reason for shortcomings in this area. Although the authors, which actually include Selman himself, obviously belong to this latter tradition they nevertheless draw our attention to weaknesses also in this type of models. Indeed, the more overt developmental assessments presented by structural standpoints on social cognition are inadequate as well: “because the cognitive-developmental tradition fails to specify how general social-cognitive competencies are translated into actual behaviour in specific contexts” (Yeates et al. 1991:370). Having briefly described areas open for complementing research Selman embarked on a new development and application of his stage model.

4.3.6.2. The Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies Model

Yeates and Selman (1989) proposed the Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies model as an effort to address the shortcomings mentioned above in explaining discrepancies between level of interpersonal understanding and social behaviour. The ambition is to integrate approaches and explain associations between levels of interpersonal thought and interpersonal action: “This model focuses on how, in a dyadic context for interpersonal

negotiation, an individual (the "protagonist") deals with a significant other to resolve the disequilibrium that arises between him or her and the significant other in particular social conflict situations" (Selman et al. 1986:451). Further, "Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies serve to resolve the felt conflict or intra- and interpersonal disequilibrium, which sometimes arises in interaction with other individuals when trying to accomplish a personal goal" (Yeates & Selman 1989:76). Yeates and Selman also acknowledge "the relatively limited range of social interaction types that fall within the concept of INS, which makes differentiation possible" (1989:76).

Yeates and Selman thus describe four levels of INS with increasing complexity:

Level 0: Impulsive

Strategies are impulsive, unreflective and physical actions either displaying aggression or avert conflict, where emotions and actions are not differentiated from one another.

Level 1: Unilateral

Strategies are one-sided aiming to dominate or pacify the other party, acknowledging the other party's personal and subjective mind-set.

Level 2: Reciprocal

Strategies are psychological in nature aiming at either achieving own goals or to submit to other party as main goal, still giving space for reciprocity and exchange based on a combined awareness of one's own and the other's perspective.

Level 3: Collaborative

Strategies are devised taking into account the value of the relationship between the parties involved and are (therefore) collaborative in nature, directed toward solutions where both parties benefit. Here, the acquired third person vantage point is utilized by either party to coordinate perspectives.

The underlying developmental process behind negotiation strategy usage is, according to Selman, the capacity to coordinate social perspectives, described in their social perspective coordination model outlined above, which in turn was the theoretical basis for the subsequent developmental model of interpersonal understanding already discussed (Selman 1980). According to this INS model, negotiation strategies can be derived from the corresponding level of interpersonal understanding and a developmental path or pattern of INS can be elucidated. 'Higher' levels of INS can hence acknowledge and coordinate a greater complexity of perspectives involved. Selman explains: "[G]iven that higher level strategies are 'better' in terms of the amount of interpersonal understanding they reflect in a given social context, we believe that such strategies are likely in general to lead to 'better' social adjustment" (Yeates & Selman 1989:77-78). Interestingly, a meta-analysis of peer conflict resolution reported that

peer-peer coercion decreases with age during childhood to adolescence development with simultaneous increase of negotiation as preferred conflict resolution method (Laursen et al. 2001). We will discuss the possibilities associated with higher levels of INS below.

4.3.6.3. Other-transforming and Self-transforming Orientations

Yeates and Selman here introduce an additional dimension of negotiation strategies that can be combined with the developmental concept of INS, and this dimension is stretched between the two poles called 'self-transforming' and 'other-transforming' negotiation styles or orientations. Strict self-transforming style denotes willingness to prioritize needs of the other party/parties, whereas a negotiator with a strategy framed in another-transforming direction takes a firm stand for his/her own needs as of prime importance. These two orientations steer social interactions in a wide variety of contexts and this phenomenon "generally captures individual differences in preferences for changing one's environment as opposed to one's self" (Yeates & Selman 1989:79). Selman and Schultz adds that information on the parties' personalities and general inclination toward a self- or other-transforming orientation when engaging other individuals is therefore necessary to judge particular behaviour in a particular interaction (Selman & Schultz, 1990:58). The INS level will determine how a self- or other-transforming orientation is expressed in action, as determined by the two different behavioural routes of development. Here, the same INS stage results in very different behaviour depending on orientation, but underpinned by similar levels of complexity in perspective coordination ability: "[W]e find that other-transforming strategies range from aggression to authoritarianism to persuasion across the developmental levels, while self-transforming strategies range from passivity and withdrawal to obedience to deference" (Yeates & Selman 1989:80). Hence the selection of strategy is heavily influenced by the underlying orientation as well as the developmental stage, in addition to situational factors. In later writing, Selman together with Schultz, relating to a dysfunctioning dyad in clinical setting, affirm that "other transforming strategy use, in and of itself, is not inherently 'bad or maladaptive' … [it is] the rigidity and lack of alternatives and flexibility [that] are the problem" (Selman & Schultz, 1990:57). The key to success of a dyad in naturalistic setting was their ability to take turns in assuming self-transforming and other-transforming orientation (Selman & Schultz, 1990:56). It seems that a slight tension within the concept of 'orientation' has appeared. Above we learnt that orientation related to individual differences, whereas here the meaning of the term seems more situative. Selman and Demorest (1984) assert that an individual is not expected to act according to level and orientation with complete consistency but may change depending on the behaviour of the counterpart. Moreover, they also state that "[n]ormal development may be characterized by the ability to move between orientations at each level until a greater integration is achieved at the higher levels; or it may be a path from lower to higher levels, staying predominantly with one relatively fixed orientation. Low levels may be characterized by too-rigid adherence to one or the other orientation or too-labile movement from one pole to the other" (Selman & Demorest 1984:303). We draw the conclusion that in Selman's understanding the 'orientation' concept

contains notions relating to both individual inclination as well as strategy chosen in a particular situation. With this richness in the 'orientation' concept it becomes conceptually problematic to interact with questions like: "What factors could influence a child to shift to a behaviour that did not originally belong to its orientation?" or "Can there be a trend in orientation shifting resulting in permanent changes in orientation over time?". Until we have gained further insights concerning INS orientation we are left with speculations. It is conceivable however that personal orientation affects reasoning and behaviour beyond strict interpersonal negotiation situations.

The other-transforming orientation bears some resemblance with distributive negotiation strategies discussed above. We recall that a distributive strategy aims at maximizing own gain and viewing of what is at stake as static whereas the integrative approach opens up for new solutions where both parties can gain more than was initially anticipated. This in turn requires considerable flexibility, which is, as we have noted above, something that the other-transforming orientation lacks. Moreover, if changing orientation is easily done the resemblance of a negotiation strategy or tactic becomes even clearer. We would here suggest that higher INS would indeed facilitate reaching sustainable integrative negotiation outcomes aiming at gaining mutual benefits, which also fits with the name 'collaborative' of stage three. Unfortunately a higher INS stage, including assuming the third person perspective at the highest stage, could, we would suggest, be used for your own advantage if you aim for a distributive negotiation strategy.

Discussing a dyad interaction in naturalistic setting, Selman and Schultz conclude that even Level 1 INS, with alternating unilateral commands, can successfully steer the negotiation process through reciprocal regulation of the other party's/child's Level 0 actions (Selman & Schultz, 1990:53). Would this auto-regulation of a process of INS:s employing low-level sophistication be independent of chronological level of involved parties/children? Based on a results from a clinical dyad, Selman and Schultz claim that 'age-inappropriate' behaviour per se aggravated interpersonal disequilibria leading to breakdown of the negotiation process. Using this logic one could conceive situations where temporarily 'underperforming' children using Level 1 strategies reach the same outcome as younger children using same but age-matched strategies. There is also the motivational aspect that is governed by the actual situation, where a child may choose an action that appears to reflect an earlier stage of INS development, but in reality is chosen as the most advantageous based on interpersonal understanding that is actually more advanced than it seems.

Yeates and Selman have thus combined the developmental progression of Social Perspective Coordination (leaving out the most advanced level 4), INS and the two main modalities of Interpersonal Orientation, self-transforming and other-transforming, to further differentiate their model (see table 4.5 below). Yeates and Selman stress the ability of their INS model complemented with interpersonal orientation to "differentiate developmental change from individual differences, which is another of the criteria for an adequate model for designing SPS

intervention program" (Yeates & Selman 1989:80). We notice the red threads of either orientation going through the subsequent levels, with resolution of the orientations at level 3, where the collaborative tenet does not give room for either orientation. One could here speculate however, that the third level contains both cognitive perspective taking coordination capability as well as attitude components. If so one could here suggest a combination of level three INS and an attitude inclination toward other-transforming, also suggested above. A self-transforming level 3 is however more difficult to envisage.

Table 4.5: Social Perspective Coordination, INS Levels and Orientations (adapted after Yeates & Selman 1989:78-79, 81)

Level	Social Persp. Coordination*	INS	INS Self-transf.	INS Other-transf.
0	Egocentric and undifferentiated	Impulsive	Whine, flee, hide	Fight, grab, hit
1	Subjective and unilateral	Unilateral	Obey, give in, wait for help	Command, bully, order, tell
2	Self-reflective and reciprocal	Reciprocal	Ask for reasons, barter, go second	Give reasons, persuade, go first
3	Third person and mutual	Collaborative	Collaborate, reflecting mutual needs and nature for relationship	

*Definitions of INS levels and Social Perspective Coordination levels are described above.

4.3.6.4. Four Functional Steps in the Negotiation Process

In order to more closely link their descriptive model of INS development with the actual negotiation process, Yeates and Selman now introduces the functional 'mechanics' of a negotiation process, comprised of four steps related to previous descriptions of negotiation processes in the SPS area. The four functional steps in the INS Model are the following (adapted after Yeates & Selman 1989:82):

Step 1: Defining the problem

The understanding of the interpersonal problem concerns at lower INS levels physicalistic aspects whereas increasing ability in perspective coordination includes relational factors

Step 2: Generating alternative strategies

The problem may be solved using other options, where number and complexity of these strategies increase with INS level.

Step 3: Selecting and implementing a specific strategy

From the repertoire of options the most advantageous strategy is chosen taking into account immediate physical outcomes on oneself at less advanced stages to multiple and sequential outcomes with the ability to also considering effects on third-party in later development.

Step 4: Evaluating outcomes

The simplistic conclusion drawn at early stages based on immediate physical result, is gradually diversified by inclusion of multiple consequences at different levels forming a more complete picture of the situation, the relationship as well of future interactions.

Combining the four INS levels with the four functional steps of negotiation, Yeates and Selman construct a matrix, where the acting out of each functional step according to developmental level, is described (table 5, 1989:85). Broadly speaking, the lowest level entails egocentric physicalist actions based on spontaneous urge, which during progression is gradually enriched by inclusion of apprehension of the other party's motives, followed by appraisal of 'fairness' and relationship and finally, acceptance of mutual benefits of long-term cooperation. These four functional steps form, according to Yeates and Selman, a reiterating loop, where problem definition starts each cycle and outcome evaluation is the checkpoint where the decision is taken if an acceptable outcome has been achieved during the current cycle. If not, then another cycle is initiated and this process will continue till both parties are satisfied. One can here briefly compare Selman's INS cycle with Gulliver's negotiation cycle in more formalised and complex settings (described above, Gulliver 1979). In both cases the exchange and interpretation of information, simple or very intricate, drives the interaction.

4.3.6.5. Additional Factors Influencing INS

The additional influence of situational factors, including applicable knowledge, adding certain variability is here acknowledged. Yeates and Selman find support for the coherence of their INS model in the earlier finding that children's choice of level is fairly constant through the four functional steps of a negotiation process within a certain context. As noted earlier, deviations from level-tuned strategies may result from situational, i.e. emotional fluctuations or pragmatic decisions. These deviations may result in actions corresponding to lower levels than the one actually acquired by the child. Interestingly, Yeates and Selman also mentions higher level alternatives chosen by the child depending on the context. Here, it is again noted that going beyond the level is not possible but a child can choose a higher level strategy from *within* the repertoire available as determined by INS level.

Though the descriptions of the functional steps may appear involving rational thinking, Yeates and Selman hold that many a strategy is chosen based on non-conscious processes. In fact, the involvement of reflection is likely to vary over time. When a child understands that its current mode of handling social problems does not produce the expected results and starts conceptually to explore more advanced strategies using interpersonal coordination skills acquired a high level of reflectivity is likely at hand. Though no empirical basis is yet available they suggest that when a child is firmly established at one INS level, negotiation strategies are

probably more automatized with less reflection needed. From an interventional perspective it would be interesting to identify children who are undergoing transition in order to facilitate this process. The challenge is to use right questions to probe the child's transitional status. Here would then be relevant to explore duration of the transition periods and the possibility to shorten them with proper stimuli. Yeates and Selman speculate that children in transition would need "longer latencies to response in contexts of social conflict that are shown by non-transitional peers. Observational studies of children in naturally occurring contexts of social conflict could provide a test of this hypothesis" (Yeates & Selman 1989:84).

This statement leads us to a different topic, namely the nature of social conflicts Yeates and Selman are here referring to, particularly in the extra-school context. Selman's work revolves to a great extent on contexts in the US. An expansion of this line of research would be to explore how protracted violent conflicts in a country or between countries could influence INS development, orientation consolidation and adherence. One could speculate that interpersonal understanding would be an important survival factor whereas INS would lags behind. A reason for underdeveloped INS would be limited success rate of sophisticated INS implemented, and therefore reduced motivation to explore these, particularly those specific for level 3.

4.3.6.6. INS and interventions

Interventions for troubled children, or any adult for that matter, have the potential to stimulate INS development provided it is adapted to the child's INS level, as emphasised by Yeates and Selman (1989). Trying more advanced INS is dependent on stimuli from the outside, for instance more mature individuals informally as well as dedicated interventions. The importance of this type of stimulation for children's socialization progress is here stressed: "Indeed, throughout development, the opportunity to be exposed to such agents of change is critical; in their absence, natural failures in socialization may occur in children who are otherwise 'normal'" (Yeates & Selman 1989:89). Expanding this notion to non-intentional influence in the peer or quasi-peer context one could ask whether a child displaying a more sophisticated INS could spontaneously invite a less developed child to consider options belonging to new and higher levels of INS, and thereby catalyse in the child with lower INS the initiation of the next transition process from one INS level to the next? What first comes to mind is the possibility of children exerting this enhancing influence on their younger siblings. Here it would be interesting to probe younger children's aptitude to imitate older children in respect to INS in real life settings.

What input is then needed and what is the format of an intervention for stimulating INS development? Yeates and Selman emphasize the need to combine instruction and sharing of knowledge to the participating children, as well as of practical elements: "Thus considered as a whole, the intervention's overt content … is instruction and practice in the information processing steps, while its underlying dynamic … is to promote developmental growth in their understanding and operation" (Yeates & Selman 1989:91). Therefore, the usage of both

theoretical approaches, like discussing theoretical dilemmas as well as practical application in their real social context is called for. To try to stimulate a child to make unrealistic leaps by enthusiastic practitioners (or parents) in the developmental process is not encouraged. Instead Yeates and Selman favour one step at a time approach, where no advance should be attempted until the current level is thoroughly established. This would in turn require the design of personalized interventions after initial assessment of INS status of the children selected for the intervention. The authors describe a project they initiated in order to test this combined approach. After an initial assessment of the INS levels, the children are instructed in pairs about the functional steps of negotiations, followed by a practical exercise where a shared activity exposes the dyads to negotiation situations, where the instructor has the opportunity to help the children implement INS:s according to their individual needs. Here, it would have been very interesting to see the immediate results of this approach. In particular, sustainability in terms of long term behaviour change is what practitioners are looking for and is also acknowledged by the authors. Yeates and Selman envisage the use of the INS model in schools by teachers and other professionals to promote SPS development and emphasize the model's unique features: "[T]he model provides assistance both in instructing students about more desirable negotiation strategies and in modelling such strategies directly, two of the means by which positive developmental growth can be facilitated" (Yeates & Selman 1989:95). Still, Yeates and Selman shares two reservations concerning the potency of the model. First, they are cognizant of the fact that the INS model describes only a segment of the broad spectrum of social interactions. Second, when the social contexts of the child is in sharp contrast to the progressive view of the INS model, the impact of such and intervention will be limited and short lived. The engagement of the school as a whole (and family and other significant others, we would here add) is required for sustainable effects.

4.3.6.7. DEVELOPMENTAL NOTIONS ON COLLABORATION BETWEEN FRIENDS

An important facet of negotiation processes is the concept of collaboration which has been explored by Selman and Schultz. Expanding his field of research, they have investigated how behaviour in particular collaboration relates to developmental level of interpersonal perspective taking, introducing a developmental model on thought and action based on the previously (above) described 4-level model depicting development of interpersonal understanding. Summarising this study they state: "[I]n our articulation of the theoretical foundations of our model of interpersonal development (based as it is on the developing capacity to coordinate social perspectives), in our empirical and anecdotal descriptions of strategies for interpersonal negotiation ….we have suggested that when interpersonal development occurs, it is characterized by a dialectical movement through the interaction of the processes of autonomy and connection toward mutuality and collaboration" (Selman & Schultz 1990:331).

4.3.6.8. Intimacy and Autonomy

The focus here is then the development of collaboration with two parameters that regulate social interactions: 1) intimacy, which enables individuals to closely relate to others and sharing experiences, and 2) autonomy, which identifies and coordinates own needs and - sometimes conflicting - needs of others. Autonomy is based on the concept of INS discussed above, and can, as we have seen, take self-transforming and other-transforming typologies. The intimacy function is an addition to Selman's and co-workers' established model system that parallels the four progressive stages of interpersonal understanding and INS, and is described as follows (Selman & Schultz, 1990:29):

Level 0: Shared experience through unreflective (contagious) imitation

Level 1: Shared experience through expressive enthusiasm without concern for reciprocity

Level 2: Shared experience through joint reflection on similar perceptions or experiences

Level 3: Shared experience through collaborative empathic reflective processes

The intimacy and autonomy processes constitute "aspects of the self's actions in ongoing relationships with others", which develop and give shape to relationships throughout life (Selman & Schultz 1990:28).

One cornerstone in the model is the relation between thought and action. Which comes first? Selman's and Schultz' approach tries to reconcile two models describing this relationship. The first model sees conscious interpersonal understanding corresponding to a particular stage as resulting from experiences of previous interactions. Actions here pave the way for cognitive understanding. The second model, in contrast, describes behaviour as determined from level of interpersonal understanding, taking into account the possibility to act in a less sophisticated manner than acquired level actually allows. The two models do actually complement each other: "the first model speaks to how understanding comes about (through interactive experience), and the second to how it is used once established (subject to vagaries of emotional and motivational forces in particular social situations)" (Selman & Schultz 1990:32).

Selman and Schultz note that actions deviating from level-related ability are more likely to occur in real-life situations than in clinical discussion settings. Confronted with problems directly affecting the individual emotive factors come into play, which can modulate interpersonal output, and these factors need to be included in an analysis of behaviour and perspective taking: "[a]dequate interpersonal understanding is necessary but not sufficient for mature or adequate social behaviour, which is an expression of feelings and motives as well as thoughts" (Selman & Schultz 1990:23); and "[u]ltimately, it is not that feelings are constant and conceptual sophistication changes our understanding of them, but that with

development there is a continuing differentiation of both thought and emotion" (Selman & Schultz 1990:16).

4.3.6.9. Approaches to Analyse Peer Relationships

Various approaches have been used to analyse peer relationship development and Selman and Schultz argue that the importance of context to understand a relationship or individual interactions. They therefore suggest the interpretive method with emphasis on meaning in interpersonal behaviour - intimately linked to context, in contrast to positivist theories that focus objective mechanistic explanations for patterns of social actions in isolation. Meaning of behaviour itself is a multi-layered phenomenon and ambitions to provide complete explanation of such complexities are futile. Selman and Schultz proceed to explain their methodology based on the assumptions described above entailing behavioural, then psychological and finally psychosocial-historical levels: "In our efforts to understand social regulation processes in children's peer interactions, we have used a method that we label the 'interpretive/empirical case study' approach. Our method consists of an integration of traditional observational ('empirical') methodology and intensive, longitudinal study of pairs of children in therapy using hermeneutic ('interpretive') analysis" (Selman & Schultz 1990:41).

The example below highlights how Selman uses dilemmas to probe children's perspective taking in the context of friendship involving both intimacy and autonomy aspects:

"Kathy is ten years old and has been friends with Becky for a long, long time. In fact, Kathy considers Becky to be her closest friend, and she's agreed to go over to Becky's house on Saturday for the afternoon. But Jeanette, a new girl in town, has offered Kathy a "once in a blue moon" opportunity to see a show that Kathy has been longing to see – on that very same afternoon.

Kathy knows that Becky, who's a bit shy, is depending on her company. She wanted to go over to Becky's house, and she is afraid she'll hurt her best friends feelings if she doesn't, but she really want to see the show, and she's not sure what she should do or how she can explain her decision to either Becky or Jeanette." ("Risky Incident No.2" Synopsis, Selman 2003:26)

Selman's intent here is to expose Kathy to a problem that requires not only her perspective taking by thinking about 'why' to do something but that also demands social perspective coordination and taking actions like expressing her intentions as well as negotiating with the two girls involved in the incident. Whatever Kathy's choices are, they will impact her long term friendship with Becky and her immediate situation. Thus Selman enquiry is not only about 'why' certain decisions are preferred as in perspective taking, but also include the 'how' in terms of how these decisions would be enacted by the child analysing the dilemma (Selman 2003:27).

4.3.6.10. INS and Collaboration

The specific peer interactions to be analysed in order to elucidate the relationship between behaviour and interpersonal understanding are then the INS described above. As INS Selman and Schultz specifically choose interactions that occur within an established relationship, which is momently in disequilibrium. The disequilibrium in turn encompasses both an interpersonal aspect, involving conflict between the parties agendas, as well as an intrapersonal aspect, which denote the inner conflict between own perceived needs and concern for the other party (Selman & Schultz 1990:44-45). The term 'conflict' in relation to 'negotiation' is here explained: “Thus interpersonal negotiation involves potential as well as overt conflict, and very subtly behavioural clues are used to identify contexts in which resistance is not manifest overtly because actors suppress their own desire for the sake of interpersonal harmony, with consequent (but almost invisible) internal disequilibrium” (Selman & Schultz 1990:45). We recall the array of communication modalities at disposal of the experienced negotiator as well as in informal settings, discussed the negotiation chapter.

Applying the INS developmental model to behaviour with the ambition to diagnose children in negotiation situations according to disequilibria observed, Selman and Schultz slightly modifies the use of this model. “Although the identification of developmental levels of social perspective coordination in interpersonal understanding in our earlier work reflects a positivist and rationalist notion of social-cognitive competence, our use of these levels in studying conduct – in the social regulation processes of interpersonal negotiation strategies and shared experience – takes on a more hermeneutic flavour. This is because in moving beyond the developmental description of the *social-cognitive capacity* to coordinate perspectives when thinking about the social world, trying to understand the child's *social behaviour* (in both its molecular and molar forms) in a meaningful way from a developmental perspective, we are guided by a social interaction contextual metaphor (based on Wernerian orthogenesis) instead of an individual competence-based metaphor (based on Piagetian principles)” (Selman & Schultz 1990:47). Whereas the ability to coordinate social perspectives – for INS, the coordination of own needs with those of the other - can be described in developmental levels, the interpretation of actions during moments of disequilibria is much more complex than interpretation of reasoning about actions, and can therefore not be so easily derived from these developmental models. Many additional factors beyond social coordination capacity can steer the momentary choice of action: “Internal motives and feelings, as well as external factors, evoke, inhibit, or otherwise mediate the extent to which individuals actually use their optimal perspective-taking ability as interpersonal conflicts evolve out of particular social contexts” (Selman & Schultz 1990:49). Also the psycho-social context of the negotiated interaction is considered. Selman and Schultz explain that so far we have dealt with analysis of the developmental meaning; to penetrate the functional meaning of INS we now need to probe also the context of the ongoing relationship, which in turn includes previous interactions between the parties, with other individuals with influence in the child's life.

4.3.6.10.1. The Concept of Fairness

The discernment of the concept of 'fairness' constitutes an important factor in interpersonal perspective taking affecting mutual collaboration, hence Selman and Schultz devotes a chapter dedicated to this topic. The usage of fairness as reference point for morality has already been extensively used by Kohlberg in his studies on moral development, discussed in an earlier chapter. Selman and Schultz argue that examples of mismatch between objective 'fairness' in terms of equity and reciprocity on the one hand, and subjective experience of frustration on the other often occur during childhood and in some cases in adulthood as well. Selman and Schultz explain: "[T]he difficulty can be traced to the lack of differentiation (and hence, integration) between the affective and cognitive aspects of social interaction" (Selman & Schultz 1990:329). Later in life, the tension between objective fairness and subjective experience, i.e. fear or aversion against acting according to objective fairness is still real, but normally one should be able to distinguish between the two. We often let our subjective feelings steer actions away from what we actually know and subscribe to is objectively fair (Selman & Schultz 1990:330).

Selman and Schultz elaborate on the ethical development holding that possessing the ethical knowledge and emotional awareness is not enough. Instead they stress the importance of 'felt understanding', a holistic concept meaning: "emotional understanding in action, a differentiation and integration of the logical and affective aspects of an interpersonal conflict" and "[a] complete ethical sense can be developed only in an individual in whom the positive affective and cognitive aspects of interpersonal development are integrated" (Selman & Schultz 1990:330). Shared positive experiences 'energize' intellectually and emotionally individuals and relationships enabling investments in conflict resolution when needed.

4.3.6.10.2. The Ethics of Collaboration

In general, collaboration is regarded being positive in its own right, but it does not mean that collaboration always is the goal in all interpersonal interactions (Selman & Schultz 1990:332). Should one then advocate collaboration taking a prescriptive stance? Selman and Schultz now probe whether collaboration should be advocated on ethical grounds in addition to developmental grounds, whether there is a connection between research on development and philosophical stance. Descriptively, Selman and Schultz have depicted collaboration as requiring abilities involving both autonomy as well as intimacy. They are however cautious not to confuse increasing abilities during development facilitating collaborative interactions with prescriptive assumptions that collaboration always is the right mode of interacting. They hence formulate their thesis that "*a call* for collaboration as a way of acting or a lifelong attitude is a basic value. Distinct from its empirical associations, it is a philosophical and ethical stance about what ultimately constitutes good or 'ideal' interpersonal relationship processes" (Selman & Schultz 1990:332-333). It is in this context we should understand Selman's and Schultz' clinical efforts in promoting sound development of interpersonal and collaborative skills in troubled children: "With respect to interventions, our strong belief in the value of

collaboration as a critical ingredient of mature interpersonal relationships certainly has motivated us to develop the treatment of pair therapy as a means of fostering this capacity" (Selman & Schultz 1990:333).

When looking at mature relationships that have developed through collaboration over i.e. decades, such as long-term friends or couples, the relevance of studying the parties as individuals is here questioned, suggesting possibility if the dyad could assume the functional unit. This is another example where integration or at least interplay of developmental aspects with values is necessary for richer understanding. Where perceptions of value and interpersonal management skill development are conjoined, we find the category of mature individuals with fully developed interpersonal perspective coordination. To other end of the spectrum belong those individuals with display 'atrophied socio-affective development', which in turn can be expressed in anti-social acts at various levels (Selman & Schultz 1990:335).

4.3.6.10.3. Motivation for Collaboration

Selman and Schultz round off their discussion on ethics of collaboration with some notions on human motivation necessary for developing a genuinely collaborative attitude. The main drivers behind human motivation are according to Selman and Schultz are the pursuit of satisfaction and maintenance of security. These concepts they link with the way humans learn to relate to others, which in turn brings us back to the coordination of intimacy and autonomy in collaboration, the red thread in this chapter. Something that can hamper motivation to collaborate is anxiety, since anxiety distorts our ability to interpret circumstances and to act appropriately. Our experiential learning curve is curbed including the important capacity to foresee consequences of actions. We then retort to defensive behaviour, which in turn hamstrings our ability and motivation to collaborate (Selman & Schultz 1990:336). Selman's and Schultz' notions on motivational hinders to collaboration opens the door to a broader discussion on the wider social impact of functional collaborative constellations of various kinds, verging to the intensively studied area of social capital, pioneered and popularized by Robert D Putnam, but also others. The pre-requisites for functional collaboration could constitute one conceptual bridge between interpersonal negotiation skills and social capital and thereby a way to micro-dissect the social fabric of group or community under investigation, but this is obviously beyond the scope of this work.

Selman and Schultz continue discussing troubling childhood experiences we still may carry, when feelings of frustration (i.e. abandonment) were then wrongly interpreted as objective unfairness. With time we learn to differentiate these feelings from what is objective fairness or unfairness. When this ability to differentiation is underdeveloped, there is more room for anxiety and less for foresight, and we are less likely to connect to an equilibrated person (Selman & Schultz 1990:337). The reason Selman and Schultz, in contrast to Freud, remain optimistic about human development through achieving security and satisfaction is their "focus on the intensely interpersonal nature of human needs … [which] suggests that we can work out our needs in collaboration rather than only in competition with others, achieving a

meaningful compromise between persons rather than an uncomfortable compromise between biology and culture" (Selman & Schultz 1990:338).

In sum, Selman and Schultz have presented in describing children's developing strategies for both staying close and negotiation in a conflict situation within the friendship domain and children's capacity to engage in mutual collaboration.

4.4. SUMMARY

The red thread of the current investigation is to study children's thoughts and actions while interacting with others in conflict situations at schools embedded in a broader social context characterized by violence. The objective is to find the way to instil more peaceful behaviour. For this purpose we have discussed theories describing children's cognitive abilities to resolve conflicts and behaviour taking a developmental approach. While Selman is our main author, we started off with Jean Piaget, the pioneer in developmental psychology and a main influence on Selman's general criteria. Specific Piagetian concepts include defined stages forming a structured wholeness, pre-determined sequence of stage progression, universality, with emphasis on cognitive rather than emotional factors and general rather than particularistic explanations. The other forerunner, Kohlberg, has contributed to Selman's methodology with his approach using dilemmas. And his theoretical contributions in area of the development of moral reasoning have a direct bearing on Selman's interpersonal perspective taking model.

Robert Selman has provided a solid cognitive theory which we have discussed starting with the development of interpersonal perspective taking where children are asked to reason 'why' they choose to do something in a given conflict situation. Selman then realised that it was necessary fill the social relations gap and moved from researching 'thought' to investigating social perspective coordination. In other words the child was not only asked to think 'why' but to demonstrate the 'how' that choice would be carried out. Selman then designs what he called the Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies Model to integrate approaches and explain associations between levels of interpersonal thought and interpersonal action. This developmental model emphasised 'how' two children interact in an interpersonal negotiation, and how the protagonist deals with a significant other to settle the disequilibrium that arise between him or her and the significant other in specific social conflict circumstances. Finally, Selman uses previous insights to research and explain friendship collaboration between children using an approach revolving around the key concepts of intimacy and independence.

Thus, this chapter has provided a theoretical groundwork that describes how children's reasoning and decision making develops and differentiates, shaping their perspectives and strategies in social relations in general and interpersonal negotiation settings in particular.

In sum this theoretical section contains the three chapters: Peace Education, Negotiation, and The Growth of Interpersonal Understanding & Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies and these concepts have guided the empirical study. Peace Education theory contributes to the aim

which is to promote harmonious coexistence; Negotiation theory provides insights on how in practice children can learn to negotiate a disagreement taking a pro-social approach; Finally, the theoretical construct of Growth of Interpersonal Understanding & Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies provides a frame of reference about children's reasoning and offers a guide to identify typical behaviour from a developmental perspective. Thus, this theoretical underpinning is relevant for this current study in exploring conflict handling among school children living in a violent socio-political context, focusing on their thoughts, feelings and behaviour. The empirical investigation of these topics is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: EMPIRICAL STUDY

5. EMPIRICAL STUDY

Having discussed the theoretical positions upon which this research is built comprising negotiation, the growth of interpersonal perspective taking and peace education theory the following sections concern the empirical work. This chapter includes both a qualitative and a quantitative examination utilizing a combination of explorative and confirmatory approaches, namely the focus group and questionnaire methods, respectively. This chapter is divided into two main parts: methodology and results.

5.1. METHODOLOGY

The qualitative and quantitative methodologies used to address the main research questions on how children feel and think about conflict in the friendship domain within a peace education framework are here described. The first section explains the research questions and the methodological strategy chosen, followed by a description of the hypotheses. Detailed methodological explanations of both methods are subsequently outlined.

5.1.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

The main objective of the current study was framed in the principal research question: How do children think and feel about conflict within the friendship domain using a peace education framework? The topic of conflict in friendship among children was chosen based on the following notions: First, the rationale for choosing the conflict topic was because it contains significant processes affecting preservation and maintenance of interpersonal relationships; Second, children were the chosen study subjects as social behaviour is imprinted already at a very young age and develop throughout adolescence; Third, friendship relationship was regarded important as conflict within the friendship also tackles violence reduction and the appropriate competencies for conflict resolution for restoration of the relationship. Moreover, these three aspects together correspond very well to the ethos and goals of peace education research and practice, which in turn constitute the 'lens' through which the results are viewed.

The overarching research question mentioned above was broken down to three main questions:

A. How do children think and feel about conflict within the friendship domain using a peace education framework?

B. What levels of interpersonal perspective taking (IPT) and interpersonal negotiation strategies (INS) do the children reflect and are there demographic differences for these two parameters that illustrate peace or violent tendencies?

C. Are there demographic differences in regards to children's attitudes, behaviour and experiences that show peaceful/violent tendencies when having conflicts within the friendship, school and family domain?

Research question A: It contains the emphasis on gaining deeper understanding of children's thoughts and feelings when in a conflict. A qualitative approach is here regarded appropriate and a well-established methodology is the focus group format. The reasons for this choice are several. The ambition with the focus group approach is to give to participating children a voice by letting them express their ideas in their own words. (The concept of giving children a voice is further explained in 5.1.3.2). Moreover, the focus group method allows in depth questions i.e. the 'why-type' questions necessary for pursuing deeper understanding of the children's views and behaviour, including registering nuances, which is not possible with a quantitative approach like the questionnaire method. Another advantage is the possibility to interact with the participating children by posing follow-up questions (Barbour 2008). Seeking major leitmotifs facilitates reduction of dimensionality and brings structure to the information and therefore a thematic analysis lends itself to exploring and organizing the views shared by the children. The content is thereby determined using the thematic analysis as discussed by Braun and Clarke (2014) and Ryan & Bernard (2003), which will be explained in further detail in the thematic analysis section (5.1.3.4). This method enables exploring of children's reasoning and feelings concerning conflict, the use of violence, conflict resolution and peaceful tendencies in conflict through the generation of codes and themes for a rich and deep description and analysis of the data set.

Research question B: The objective of this question was to explore the developmental level of the participating children's reasoning about conflict between friends using Selman's theory (1980). The general hypothesis was that for the participating children a lower level of perspective taking as measured by IPT (Selman 1980) and INS (Yeates & Selman 1989, Yeates et al. 1991) would relate to increased propensity to use violent strategies to address a conflict with a friend. Higher level of IPT and INS would instead be related to more peaceful strategies to address a conflict with a friend. Here the citations that emerged through the thematic analysis of the focus group data were used. (How citations emerged see 5.1.3.4) Selman's models for Interpersonal Perspective Taking (IPT, 1980) and Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies INS (Yeats et al. 1991) were employed to score input provided by children. The IPT scoring estimates the ability to take perspective in relation to other individuals and to oneself in general. The INS scoring on the other hand provides an estimation of the person's ability to interpret a situation entailing a conflict of interest. The quantizing transformation of the children's citations to IPT and INS scores with levels 0, 1, 2 and 3 allows demographic comparisons of IPT and INS levels between genders, age groups, social strata and geographic location. As these two methods have been extensively described in the theoretical section it suffices to state here that the scoring approach of children's testimonies has been employed

and evaluated in a number of publications cited in the theoretical chapter and used in a methodological setting similar to the one described in the current study. (The IPT and INS scoring methodologies are described in detail in section 5.1.5.4.)

Research question C: To address this question quantitative comparisons are required rather than pursuing in depth understanding and therefore the questionnaire method was chosen. The questions included enquire about violence committed by the responding children or inflicted on the responders by other children or adults. There were also statements about solving conflicts, collaboration and family environment. The advantages of this method include the facts that questionnaires are easily managed and administered also when the ambition is to include and compare larger groups of children, which is the purpose of this study (Green et al. 2012). The questionnaire methodology thus allows analysing response patterns from various sub-categories of responders and from these comparisons to draw conclusions relevant to the research questions of the current study, notably attitudes, experience and behaviour in relation to conflicts within the social domains of friendship, school, and family. Several properties of this approach speak in favour thereof. The questionnaire approach allows ordinal and interval level measurements and a relatively large number of participating children which contributes to general robustness of the study. One advantage with using the Likert scale for transforming the responses to the four numerical values 1-4 is that it is done without any influence from the investigator, but that the responders themselves tick their answer alternative of choice, which automatically translates to the corresponding numerical value. In addition, the number of children enables significance testing of differences between groups of children and thereby permitting hypothesis testing. Moreover, the data may be analysed for individual questions and using a factor analysis approach. The use of factor analysis in the current study is motivated by the relatively high number of questions included in the questionnaire as well as the large number of respondents and reduction of dimensionality is therefore necessary. According to Cattell factor analysis is "capable of revealing patterns and structures responsible for the observed single relation connections" (2012:4) and this approach was therefore used in this study to bundle of statements that correlate with one another to a smaller number of factors that subsequently were used for the demographic comparisons. Not all questionnaire statements were expected to load to factors however. Those that still were regarded essential for the research question would be analysed individually using frequency distribution comparisons between demographic sub-groups.

Having described the main research questions and the methodological strategies chosen to address these questions the specific hypotheses will now be presented.

Research question A is purely explorative and will be approached using thematic analysis of the qualitative output of the focus group discussions. No specific hypotheses were therefore raised to address this question.

To address the research question B the following specific hypotheses would be tested using IPT:

1. Younger children (6-10 years) would show lower levels of IPT than older children (12-15 years).

   Rationale: Younger children display less developed capacity for interpersonal perspective taking than older children (Selman 1980).

2. Females would show higher levels of IPT than age-matched males.

   Rationale: Females are socialised in more empathy than males (Selman 1986 et al., Eisenberg et al. 2001, Cohn 1991).

3. Children from lower social strata would show lower levels of IPT than age-matched children from higher strata contexts.

   Rationale: Children from less privileged socio-economic contexts would be exposed to less perspective taking stimulation than those from more privileged socio-economic contexts (Selman & Demorest 1984).

4. Children from the city of Cucuta would show lower levels of IPT than age-matched children from Bogota.

   Rationale: The more violent social context of Cucuta than that of Bogota would negatively influence children's perspective taking development (Sousa et al. 2013, Forensis 2015).

Similarly, the following specific hypotheses were constructed for the INS analyses, also connected to research question B:

5. Younger children (6-10 years) would show lower levels of INS than older children (12-15 years).

   Rationale: That younger children display less developed capacity for interpersonal perspective taking needed to interpret a conflict of interest than older children (Yeates & Selman 1989).

6. Females would show higher levels of INS than age-matched males.

   Rationale: Females are more than males socialised in roles to be sensitive to personal relations (Selman et al. 1986, Eisenberg et al. 2001).

7. Children from lower social strata would show lower levels of INS than age-matched children from higher strata contexts.

Rationale: Children from less privileged socio-economic are more exposed to insensitive or aggressive conflict handling than age-matched children from more privileged socio-economic contexts (Selman & Demorest 1984).

8. Children from the city of Cucuta would show lower levels of INS than age-matched children from Bogota

   Rationale: The more violent social context of Cucuta than that of Bogota would negatively influence children's development of non-violent conflict handling strategies (Sousa et al. 2013, Forensis 2015).

For research questions C the following hypothesis were raised to steer the questionnaire study:

9. Younger children (6-10 years) would show higher levels of violence inclination and exposure than older children (12-15 years)

   Rationale: Younger children possess less capacity than older children to solve conflicts non-violently due to less developed perspective taking and verbal skills (Selman 1980).

10. Males would show higher levels of violence inclination and exposure than age-matched females.

    Rationale: Males have been found to employ violent strategies in relation to conflicts to a higher degree than females (Coullerton 2008).

11. Children lower social strata would show higher levels of violence inclination and exposure than age-matched children from higher strata contexts.

    Rationale: Children from less privileged socio-economic contexts are exposed to more violence and thereby be socialised into a violent behaviour to a greater extent than age-matched children from more privileged socio-economic contexts (Huaqing Qi & Kaiser 2003, Mistry et al. 2002).

12. Children from the city of Cucuta would show higher levels of violence inclination and exposure than age-matched children from Bogota (Sousa et al. 2013, Forensis 2015).

    Rationale: Cucuta displays a more violent social context than Bogota, a phenomenon which would influence children's in Cucuta behaviour in a more violent direction than age-matched children from Bogota (Sousa et al. 2013, Forensis 2015).

In the context of research question C, there was also a general assumption that the children would display high levels of violence attitude, behaviour and experience in the quantitative

results due to the high level of political and community violence present in Colombia. For example Sidel argues that [c]hildren are predominantly susceptible throughout and after violent conflicts (2008) (See also Sousa et al. 2013, Başoğlu et al. 2005, Margolin & Gordis 2000, Garbarino & Kostelny 1996). No comparison with other socio-political contexts outside the two cities in Colombia was however made. Instead this assumption was only informally tested using the questionnaire study in the sense that an overall average response between the four response alternatives would lie near the most violent of the four response alternatives (numerically would be a closer to 1 than 4 using the Likert scale) then this would suggest an overall violent attitude, behaviour or exposure of the participating children.

In sum, the hypotheses listed above describe the demographic comparisons planned, using both the questionnaire results as well as transformed data from the focus group discussions. The following section will consequently elaborate on the mixed methods strategy for combining qualitative and quantitative studies.

5.1.1.1. MIXED METHODS DESIGN

From the research questions A, B and C it becomes evident that quantitative (questionnaire), qualitative (focus group discussion) and quantitizing (IPT, INS) approaches need to be combined in order to cover both high level comparative analyses as well as in-depth understanding pursued in the current study. The mixed (or blended) methods approach, denoting combinations of quantitative and qualitative methods in the same study, has been extensively discussed in the literature as stated in Creswell "[by] the early 1990s mixed methods turned toward the systematic convergence of quantitative and qualitative databases, and the idea of integration in different types of research designs emerged" (2013). Further Tashakkori and Teddlie comment: "A major advantage of blending research methods is that 'it enables the researcher to simultaneously answer confirmatory and exploratory questions, and therefore verify and generate theory in the same study" (2003:15). This description fits nicely to the ambitions of the current study were qualitative and quantitative approaches both contribute by addressing the exploratory and confirmatory questions discussed above. Likewise, Malina et al., argue that "[m]ixed method research employs both approaches iteratively or simultaneously to create a research outcome stronger than either method individually. Overall, combined quantitative and qualitative methods enable exploring more complex aspects and relations of the human and social world. Some of these aspects and relationships may be analysed quantitatively and qualitatively. Ambiguity is not a matter of qualitative method versus quantitative method, but whether the underlying and revealed concepts are valid representations of the phenomenon. In both quantitative and qualitative methods, concepts can be imprecise and open to interpretation" (2011:6).

Methodologically and in terms of results the qualitative and quantitative approaches used in this study are independent from one another and the results from either method will not

directly determine the design or conduct of the other. Hence, data gathering and analysis can therefore be done in parallel. The resulting qualitative and quantitative data sets are then analysed separately and brought together at the final analytical step. This application of mixed methods have been denoted a 'convergent parallel mixed methods approach' (Creswell 1999) and was chosen for this study. Here, the aim is to find in the combined data sets convergence, contradictions, or relationships of the two sources of data (Creswell 2013) and thereby gain robustness of the overall study. In the current convergent parallel study design both the the quantitative and qualitative databases are collected concurrently followed by the merging of the data during the analysis giving the same weight to both databanks. Harrison explains that there is another kind of convergent design research in which each study ask different, but interrelated research questions in each dataset to the same sample group (2013) explored within the framework of peace education. For example in the current study the qualitative investigation provides a profounder understanding of various cognitive and emotional aspects of the phenomenon of conflict and violence in interpersonal relationships among friends than the quantitative study that is employed to test some hypotheses concerning peace and violence in interpersonal relationships with school peers, at home and with friends consulting a larger quantity of respondents.

Having described the research questions, the combination of methodologies chosen and the hypotheses constructed to address the research questions we are now in the position to outline the methodological strategy forming the empirical study as a whole (Diagram 5.1).
The questionnaire part of the study begins with the children's responses to the questionnaire statements, which are subsequently transformed to numbers using the Likert scale. Factor analysis of these numbers bundles questionnaire statements to factors. Selected questionnaire statements not loading to any factor are instead analysed individually using frequencies of responses to the different response alternatives. Finally the factors and the response frequencies of individual questionnaire statements are used for comparing demographic subgroups based on gender, age group, social strata and city affiliation.

The focus group part of the study is based on the children's input during the focus group sessions and their testimonies are a subjected to thematic analysis to identify main thoughts and themes. In addition children's citations are developmentally assessed through quantitating using IPS and INS scoring. The resulting numerical IPS and INS scores are then used for comparing the same demographic subgroups as for the questionnaire study.

Diagram 5.1: Convergent Parallel Methods Approach Used in the Current Study

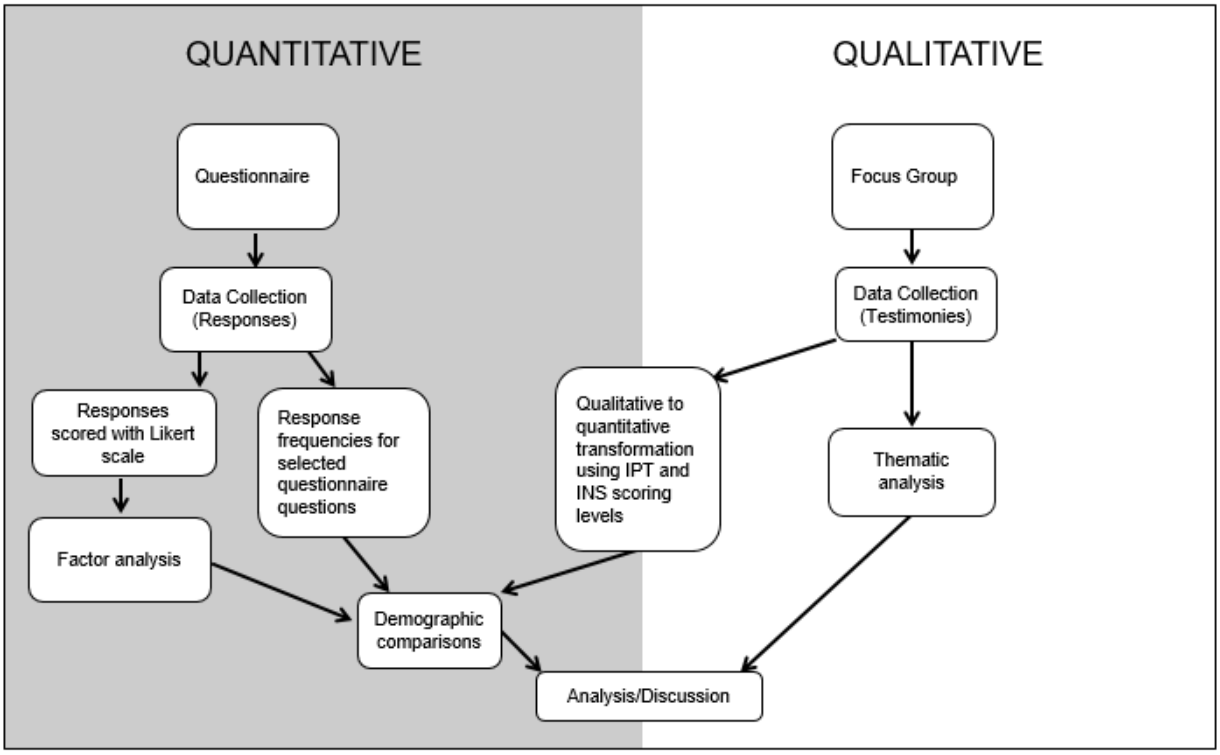


Diagram 5.1: The mixed methods approach based on the methodological steps belonging to the qualitative and quantitative approaches starting with data collection, continuing with analytic data processing and converging analysis described in the discussion section.

5.1.1.2. FOCUS GROUP METHODOLOGY

The following section will present the focus group sessions and the collection of data with thematic analysis, scoring using Selman's interpersonal perspective taking models and demographic comparisons.

5.1.1.2.1. The Sample

The qualitative study employed focus group discussions where 118 children in total participated. The children and school management had given consent to participating in the study in beforehand. All focus groups discussions were facilitated by the investigator (S. Pineda de Forsberg). The children were randomly selected for participation in the focus groups by the following randomization procedure: Random numbers were generated by investigator in beforehand. Teacher asked children one by one to say a number whatever they chose, children saying pre-selected number were included in the focus group session. Alternatively, teachers looked at student lists and chose the children corresponding to the pre-selected numbers. In exceptional cases, selected children who had already been involved in many activities outside the classroom were withdrawn from focus group sessions and

replaced by other randomly selected children. Full list of focus group participants and their demographic characteristics is found in Appendix 1.

In total 24 focus group discussions were performed with 4-5 children in each group, all belonging to the same gender, age group and social strata, and coming from the same school. Boys and girls were interviewed in separate focus groups to be able to study gender differences. To explore developmental trends in reasoning and behaviour age grouping was done separating younger children of 6-8 years of age, including 2 children of 9 and 10 years of age, from older participants ranging between 12-14 years. Two cities Bogota and Cucuta were chosen to explore possible geographical generalizability of results. The social context was captured using official social strata labelling of the children's neighbourhoods, which enabled categorization of children into poor, middle and rich social contexts. The nomenclature of the current study thus defines the strata categories as follows: 'poor' strata are strata 1-2; 'middle class' corresponds to strata 3-4; and 'rich' strata include strata 5-6. 'Poor' schools in Bogota were: Carlos Alban Holguin, Colombo Sueco (younger children from poor neighbourhoods), Filadelfia and Manuela Beltràn; 'middle class' school: Colombo Sueco (older children from middle class neighbourhoods); 'rich' school: Vermont. From Cucuta the 'poor' school was Andres Bello and the 'rich' school Eagles Hills. No data from middle class school was obtained during the time of the field study phase. There were a balanced number of boys and girls, 59 for both groups, as well as in age distribution with 60 older and 58 younger participants. Bogota contributed with 80 participants and Cucuta with 38. Social stratification was represented by 70 participants coming from poor neighbourhoods, 10 from middle class and 38 from rich neighbourhoods. Numerical unevenness between subgroups was later taken into account in comparative analyses. The demographic subgroups with number of children participating in focus groups discussions are shown in Appendix 2. An overview of the duration of the focus group sessions is shown below in Appendix 3. In total 24 focus group discussions were recorded into 21 hours of video uptakes with durations ranging from 41 min to 1h 11min.

5.1.1.2.2. Instrumentation

The theory of moral reasoning proposed by Kohlberg and Hersh (1977) including the use of moral dilemma and the interview techniques are part of Selman's methodology. Selman argues that there is an intimate link between moral reasoning and perspective taking because the child largely structures and understands the social context by taking perspective and the moral judgements are dependent on this perspective taking. Adding to that, the technique and content of the moral dilemma allow the participants to express and judge different opinions as well as to complement their thoughts. In this study the dilemma was constructed according to Selman's friendship domain focusing the conflict issue (Selman 1980:35-36). The reason for choosing the friendship domain is that the conflict resolution process can here be discussed in the context of an established relationship. Conflict management, according to Selman, "plays a critical part in the maintenance of friendship and, depending on how it is

manifest can play a progressive or regressive role in the development of the relationship itself" (Selman 1980:106). The point of departure for the current exploration of children's reasoning on conflicts was therefore how they deal with conflicts with their friends or even their best friends and consequences for the relationship. The participating children were introduced by the investigator to the focus group setting and rules, with emphasis on openness in communication, without disregarding responses as being 'wrong' and respect for each other's point of view in an open discussion climate. Likewise, the children were not evaluated during the sessions in respect to their opinions and ways of reasoning.

The investigator presented the dilemma created for the current investigation:

Sebastian and Alex (Alexandra) are best friends. They have always played soccer together. They both try out for the school's team. Sebastian (Julia) makes it but Alex (Alexandra) his friend doesn't. At first Alex (Alexandra) claims not to care, but Sebastian (Julia) soon realizes Alex is very unhappy. Alex (Alexandra) doesn't want to spend time with Sebastian (Julia) anymore. Sebastian has daily practices and games and he is proud to be in the team but he also likes to meet his friend Alex (Alexandra).

The dilemma script was adapted so that main characters of the narrative matched the focus group participants in terms of age and gender.

The following initial standard questions were used to guide the group discussion:

1. What is the problem in this story?

2. Why do you think Alex is unhappy?

3. What would you do if you were Sebastian? What would you do if you were Alex?

4. What does it mean to feel jealous in a friendship?

5. How do you feel about your friends being good at something?

6. Do you think this is a problem Sebastian and Alex should talk about? Why?

7. How do you think this story ends?

8. Do you have friends? Tell me about a conflict with a friend

Question 8 was used to move from the dilemma narrative to children's real life experiences, inviting them to freely share about conflicts in the friendship domain they had been or were still involved in. The investigator also included ad hoc questions to guide the discussion further, with a high level of liberty given to the participants to contribute as they wanted. The emphasis given can be captured in the phrase 'giving children a voice'. How this principle was planned and implemented in the study is explained below.

‘Giving children a voice’: As mentioned the aim of this study is to explore how children think and feel when having conflicts with their friends. To achieve the objective to gather data that would enrich understanding of the children-s views addressing two central questions need to be raised: A) How can one conduct focus group discussions in such an effective and balanced manner that the participating children will openly share their thoughts and feelings relevant to the research question resulting in a rich data set, and B) how can this be achieved and at the same time by no means violating the integrity of the participating children from a moral perspective? There is thus one the practical and one moral aspect and both need to be dealt with.

Starting with the moral consideration one can here propose bringing in insights from the field of philosophy of education. This requires translating the educator – pupil interaction to that of the investigator/facilitator and the focus group participants. In doing so one is now in a position to ponder Buber’s proposal that the essence of education is emphasised as a dialogue happening in a relationship: “[Dialogue] … is the extension of one’s own concreteness, the fulfilment of the actual situation of life, the complete presence of the reality in which one participates. Its elements are, first, a relation, of no matter what kind, between two persons, second, an event experienced by them in common, in which at least one of them actively participates, and, third, at the same time lives through the common event from the standpoint of the other” (Friedman 2002:115). The educative event Buber envisaged thus is built upon reciprocity embodied in the dialogue between the involved persons. The reciprocity in turn is, one may suggest, underpinned by the educator consciously embracing equality in the dialogical experience giving recognition to the pupil/student. Although the focus group experience is limited to a one-hour dialogical interaction, applicability of Buber’s propositions also for the focus group interaction is here suggested.

The recognition given a child is also reflected in the way the child is listened to. Greig et al. explain: “[W]e consider how we can ensure that youngsters of all ages and abilities are empowered to find and use their voices to speak, that we do not only hear their voices, but we listen to them carefully, understand them and act on them” (2012:204). Carr draws the following conclusion: “Listening to others is central to recognition and coordinating multiple perspectives, a skill and disposition for the making of meaning in new contexts. This is in my view, an important purpose for education in the broadest sense” (2011:vi). The attitude and understanding of what it is meant to listen becomes in these two views a capstone for empowering and recognition in the creation of meaning.

Thus the researcher/facilitator can in different ways assume an intentional attitude and perspective on the child as a person and an equal and thereby ensuring the respect and integrity due the child. The moral aspect discussed above including a listening attitude leads to the concept of ‘giving children a voice’, implying honouring the commitment to partake in the focus group experience with the children on equal terms, despite assuming different roles

and feeling honoured by the fact that children willingly share their intimate views etc., this approach constitutes a central ethos in this study.

Another component in 'giving children a voice' in the current study relates to viewing research with children as collaboration between persons with different of ages nevertheless equal in human essence. In Hill's argument it is a collaboration process (2006) where both the children and the researcher participate together becoming engaged in a process of discovery resulting also not only in obtaining data but in an empowering experience for both. To give children a voice is a matter of participation (Sinclair 2004) and acknowledging participating children as social actors (James et al. 1999).

Coming now to the practical question A), one may approach this aspect based on what was developed above concerning question B). How one may obtain rich, relevant and truthful data using focus group methodology can likely be related to the conditions for creating and assuring a shared experience conducive of a comfortable, authentic and meaningful dialogue. In contrast to the aforementioned views a child who is treated as an object in a research session experiences misrecognition and thereby violation of his or her subject identity, in such adverse settings the child should not be expected to engage in a struggle for recognition. Moreover, participating children have often been presumed to communicate in an adult frame of reference, and instead of focusing on answering the questions posed, they have spent more effort and struggle just trying to work out what it is that is required of them (McGurk and Glachan 1998). In these notions the misrecognition of the children and use of suboptimal methodological approaches may be intertwined, negatively affecting both the moral and methodological rigor of the study. Instead, in the current investigation the respect of the children expressed in a shared dialogical experience was chosen as guiding principle for preparation and conduct of the focus group sessions. It is along these dual moral and methodological lines that the ambition of 'giving the children a voice' in the focus groups should be understood.

How was this ambition put into practice in the current work? During the planning of the empirical study the practical implementation in 'giving children a voice' was believed to be dependent on the following aspects:

- The children's testimonies should be acknowledged: Practically the view that the child plays an active role in the shaping the environment of the focus groups interviews (James et al. 1999). In this research the children are made aware of the value of their insights and are informed about how important their views are. The child should therefore be interpreted individually and what the child has shared should be reflected on. Simple but important routines include looking to the children as the questions are posed and pause to give the children time to think.

- The children should be informed: Information shared includes that they are volunteers free to decline participation, that it is a research activity, the time length of the activity,

at there are some basic rulers to be able to participate, privacy rules apply (Einarsdottir 2007) meaning that teachers or parents will not be informed about the content of the dialogues, that there is no right or wrong answers, and they are not obliged to answer all the questions.

- The children should be listened to: The dialogue in this study follows the Socratic method of questions and answers aiming to assist the child find the truth or essence of what he child wants to say. It is considered important to show that the children's input is valued therefore the investigator should actively listen without interrupting or judging, but instead verbally repeating their utterances to make sure they were captured correctly, and is continuously taking notes. At a deeper level the listening also include interpretation of words as well as the understanding of meaning in what the child says Overall the children should have around 70% of the time to speak and every child had the opportunity to respond to every question.

- The children's participation should be collaborative: In this study it is exemplified in allowing space for freedom of speech ensuring everyone is comfortable in their use of language, and capacities in holistic terms. In addition, the dilemma narrative revolves around a relational problem that the children are invited to solve and in doing so guided by the investigator's questions they collaborate with one another as they build up confidence in their ideas and create meaning in the process.

- Show vulnerability and share power: Moreover, children were informed that with the focus groups sessions they would collaborate with the researcher in helping to complete part of the work for the university. In receiving help from the children the investigator would in this sense share power with them and it is also valuable for the children to feel that they are contributing (Christensen 2004). Finally, each focus group discussion was rounded off by inviting the children to verbally evaluate the content and format of the session, and the performance of the investigator. In doing this, the participation of the children was raised to a higher collaborative level, where the investigator made herself vulnerable and at the same time further empowered the children to develop their contributions.

- Children's participation should be inclusive: The choice of the present study was to work with both younger (6-10 years) and older (12-15 years) children, and with children from both economically poor and rich social contexts. Working in focus groups with young children as well as children from underprivileged settings is regarded methodologically more challenging than older and socially more privileged children with better communicative abilities (Sinclair 2004). Obviously, having this categories of children represented was regarded necessary for having a more or less representative sample. This diversity would also allow comparisons between demographic categories. Here any contrasts between young and old children and between poor and rich children would allow the voices of these demographic groups

stand out sharper and with more clarity. To effectively handle the variety of children it was regarded important for the investigator to adapt to children's age and background without in any way demeaning them.

Having thus explained the practical considerations behind the focus group sessions and the ethos of giving children a voice, the following sections will describe the processing of data including the thematic analysis of the participating children's testimonies.

5.1.1.2.3. Data Collection and Initial Processing

Each focus group session was video recorded and the verbal input from participants and investigator was transcribed by a commercial service provider using a software package for this purpose with subsequent manual quality control performed by an employee. The investigator proof-read the transcripts twice while watching the video uptakes making further corrections and comparing with the notes taken during the sessions, followed by ascribing each verbal input to the corresponding child throughout the recording. The participants were manually numbered N1, N2, N3 etc. in the transcripts and in selected citations used for the thematic analysis.

5.1.1.2.4. Thematic Analysis Methodology

The content of the focus group transcripts was subsequently analysed whereby relevant participant input deemed relevant for the overarching topic 'Conflict in the Friendship Domain' was identified and extracted from the overall transcribed data set forming a collection of 262 citations. The thematic analysis process comprised the following steps: (1) data familiarization (2) generating initial codes as proposed by Braun & Clarke (2014:2) then Ryan & Bernard suggest (3) discovering themes and subthemes, (4) winnowing themes to a manageable few (i.e., deciding which themes are important (5) building hierarchies of themes and (6) linking themes into theoretical models. (2003:85-86). Although the investigation was driven by the research question how children reason about and deal with conflicts in the friendship domain, a social configuration that is defined by Selman, the citations emerged from the data were not chosen based on fulfilling certain pre-defined developmental criteria as in Selman's model. Instead, the themes were generated mainly from the empirical data itself; it was the researcher's conscious choice not to use a systematic approach of predefined codes but a more intuitive and flexible technique called open coding approach in grounded theory terms (Marshall & Rossman 2014). Moreover, an emphasis was given to enabling a rich description of the complete data set rather than focus on a particular subtheme or subcategory. Therefore the selection of citations was based on relevance to research question, and prevalence in the data set or representativeness irrespective of demographic, age or gender parameters associated with the participant behind the citation chosen.

Although an inductive approach for the thematic analysis strategy was chosen at the first stage, when the themes began to emerge a deductive approach was used by considering the theoretical framework to inform, complement and improve the analysis, resulting in a dual approach that steered this research design and methodology.

The interpretation of the qualitative material was using a latent or interpretative approach where significance beyond the strict descriptive semantic surface meaning was acknowledged in participant's statements. Finally, in-depth probing the sociocultural context of the participants employing a constructionist approach was deemed beyond the scope of the current study, with the exception of a limited number of observations where differences between demographic subgroups were easily discerned. Overall an essentialist thematic stance to the analysis of the material was held, where language can convey meaning and experience of the individual as reflected by the input from focus groups participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thus the thematic analysis aimed at identifying and depicting the main centres of gravity of the content displayed in the focus group discussions resulting from the conflict within the friendship domain as depicted in the dilemma. Or as expressed by Ryan and Bernard the themes would usually answer the question "*what is this expression an example of*?" (2003:87).

The data was approached using a deep immersion approach given high the level of familiarity due the fact that the researcher had herself carried out all the interviews with the children and taken notes during the interviews. Thus the videos were watched six times, all transcripts proofread and corrected and the final scripts were read numerous times (more than three). It can here be mentioned that Bogdan and Biklen recommend reading the text no less than twice (1982).

Having read the body of scripts in its entirety the coding was initiated by the marking of key expressions and was the first step to identify relevant patterns, as argued by Sandelowski who affirmed that analysis commences with reading the material and basically highlighting key phrases "because they make some as yet inchoate sense" (1995:373).

The logical step that followed was the identification of "recurring regularities" as proposed by Guba (1978:53), this technique was used to identify recognizing emerging codes such as 'envy', 'anger' or 'talk'. These initial codes were analysed in their context and for that purpose whole sentences where highlighted. In total 24 tables, one for each focus group session, with complete sentences were created to organize the data. This coding exercise was performed repeatedly until a saturation point was reached, when satisfactory evidence for the experience to be observed appeared consistent and justifiable (Green et al. 2007). Finally a total of 220 citations representative of the 24 focus groups data set emerged as the coding process reached the saturation level.

The thematic process of the data analysis continued the work with the 220 citations in the creation of more defining codes capturing the relation between the citation and the research

question. The codes were subsequently grouped thematically into sub-themes that are linked to each other by similar characteristics and represent more complex information; each sub-theme was built on 2 to 4 representative codes. At the next level the sub-themes were categorized in groups of 2 to 3, forming themes that rose up strong and were distinctive in the data, these evolving themes must relate to the others so that a coherent whole could be observed. During the process a reiterative approach was applied where the formation of themes was hence not a unidirectional process but the structure of codes, sub-themes and themes was gradually formed through an extensive bidirectional evaluation of the three levels partially in parallel (Diagram 5.2 below). Here, an inductive approach was used for generalizing citation items into codes, sub-themes, themes and main theme, and in parallel a deductive approach to confirm validity of main theme as defined by themes, in turn defined by sub-themes, and codes. In this way the identification and consolidation of the different thematic levels methodologically 'bootstrapped'. A thematic map was drafted and revised during the process of identifying and consolidating the themes and the final mapping of the focus group themes is depicted in diagram 5.2. In total 5 themes were identified and further scrutinizing of the material did not produce any additional significant themes. Finally a central theme was identified that coordinated the 5 themes.

Diagram 5.2 Formation of Themes from Focus Group Discussions

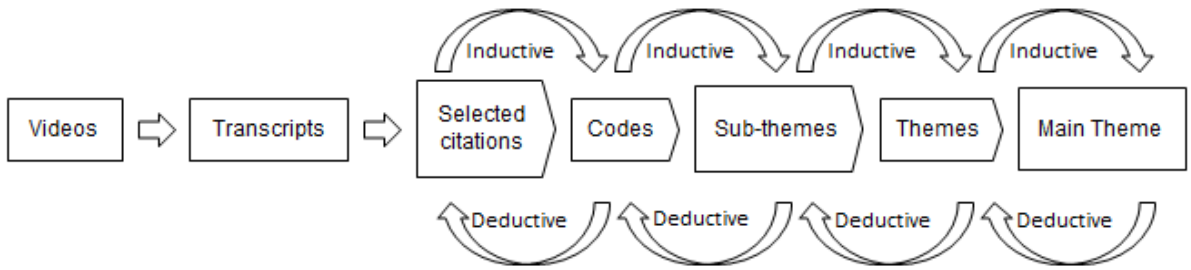


Diagram 5.2: The thematic analysis of focus groups children's input with formation of codes, sub-themes and themes using a bidirectional hermeneutic approach with inductive and deductive processes.

5.1.1.2.5. Analysis of Interpersonal Perspective Taking (IPT) Levels

Complementing the thematic analysis of the content that surfaced during the focus group discussions a complementary analytical dimension was added, whereby the citations were graded according to Selman's developmental model describing interpersonal perspective taking (IPT) capacity. Here the scale established by Selman was used (Selman 1980:37-40):

0 - Undifferentiated and Egocentric Perspective Taking (ages 3-6)

1 - Differentiated and Subjective Perspective Taking (ages 5-9)

2 - Self-reflective/Second-person and Reciprocal Perspective Taking (ages 7-12)

3 - Third-person and Mutual Perspective Taking (ages 10-15)

Selman's guidelines for the IPT scoring were then adapted to the cognitive and emotional characteristics pertinent to the friendship dilemma used in the focus group discussions. Each citation was scored twice in two independent scoring sessions by the same investigator and no inter-rated reliability was possible to assess. The rating was done with no access to demographic, gender or age characteristics of the corresponding participant providing the citation. The scoring was applied to the citations only and not the children themselves. The criteria used for scoring IPT are explained in section 4.3.3.1.2. Illustrations of the grading of the children's citations using the Selman's model for IPT scoring from level 0 to level 3 for each theme are displayed in Appendix 4. A full list of citations used for IPT is found in Appendix 8.

Description of subgroup comparisons exploratory comparisons were then carried out using the mean scores of the different subgroups, younger vs. older, female vs. male, poor vs. middle vs. poor, and Bogota vs. Cucuta. During selection of citations demographic parameters were not taken into account and subgroup sizes may therefore differ.

5.1.1.2.6. Analysis of Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies (INS)

Evaluation using the INS (Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies) scoring was also employed. The theoretical background to the methodology is based on Yeates, Schultz and Selman (1990) INS model discussed in section 4.3.4. Briefly, the authors describe the first step in a negotiation process as follows: "This step refers to the ability to define with accuracy the nature of the social problem at hand" (574). Applied to this study the first functional step therefore corresponds to assessing the problem depicted in the narrative dilemma. Consequently, the INS was probed using the question "What is the problem here?", which was posed directly after having read the narrative text. These citations reflected therefore the participants' understanding of the issue behind the conflict in the narrative presented were grouped into a separate data set 'Defining the problem' for analysis of Interpersonal negotiation Strategies (INS) using Selman's grading model for INS (table 5.3 below).

In contrast to the IPT scoring, which was performed on those *citations* that had been selected for the thematic analysis, the INS scoring was performed on the 109 *focus group children* who responded to this question (118 children in total), covering all demographic subgroups based on age, gender, social strata and city. If a child had provided more than one answer the most complete answer was used for the scoring of the child. These citations were not included in the thematic analysis described above. Also here, each citation was scored twice in two independent scoring sessions with no access to demographic, gender or age characteristics of the corresponding participant who provided the citation. The table 5.3 below shows INS level definitions according to Yeates, Schultz and Selman (1990) and the column adjacent describes

INS level definitions adapted to the current dilemma used in this investigation. Examples of INS scoring of children's citations from levels 0 to 3 are shown in Appendix 5.

Table 5.3 Definition of INS Levels

INS Level	INS Level Definitions According to Yeates, Schultz and Selman (1990)	INS Level Definitions Adapted to Current Dilemma
0	Problem defined in physical terms without reference to psychological states	Neither perspective is represented in level 0 definition in which doing is not distinguished from wanting to do. No reference to emotional status is expressed at this level.
1	Problem is defined in terms of either the self or the other's needs	Only one perspective is indicated in level 1 responses in which what only one of them want to do is mentioned and may include a reference to emotional status.
2	Problem defined by contrasting both the self and other's needs at the same time	The problem is usually defined at level 2 that is, that the children are confronted with both self and other's needs. Both want to do the same thing but only one is chosen. Reference to emotional status is mentioned here but not the consequences of these feelings.
3	Problem defined in terms of mutual goals and long-term relationship	At level 3 the problem is defined in terms of the shared nature of the problem, which entails the consequences on both of them. An understanding that the friendship relationship is disturbed is here explained with an emotional significance.

Table 5.3: Definition of INS levels according to Yeates, Schultz and Selman (1990) and the adaptation of these definitions in the current study.

5.1.1.2.7. Transformation of Focus Group Data Using IPT and INS scores

For quantitizing transformation of citations to IPT and INS scores and subsequent demographic comparisons of these scores the following statistical approach was employed. Analysis of focus group citations was based on Selman's interpersonal perspective taking (IPT)

(1980). An exploratory analysis of IPT capacity of the participants was performed using the scoring model suggested by Selman (1980:37-40), applied to each of the citations included in the thematic analysis described above. The mean scores of the subgroups were then compared with one another. Subsequent to the descriptive statistical analysis Levene's test was performed to test the assumption of equality of variances. For significance testing of IPT mean differences the Student's t-test for independent samples was used with p values equal to or below .05 regarded statistically significant. The effect size was calculated using Cohen's d (Sawilowsky 2009). The SPSS statistical package was used for computations.

Of the 118 children who participated in the focus groups of this study 109 children answered this question. A full list of citations used for INS analysis is found in Appendix 9. The mean score of the INS grading was calculated and the same demographic subgroups as for IPT were compared using Levene's test for equal variances assumption and Student's t-test for significance testing of differences between IPT mean scores from different groups. The effect size was calculated using Cohen's d (Sawilowsky 2009).

5.1.1.3. QUESTIONNAIRE METHODOLOGY

5.1.1.3.1. Sample

A total of 1177 children from 8 Colombian schools participated in the quantitative part of the empirical study employing questionnaire methodology. 664 school children from Bogotá and 513 from Cucuta aged 6-10 years and 12-16 years participated. The children and their parents had beforehand given written consent to participating in the study and the investigator, data analysts and statistician were blinded to the identity of the children. Both private and public schools representing rich and poor social contexts, respectively were selected in order to enable demographic comparisons. The schools were contacted by email using the investigator's existing contacts in Bogota and Cucuta with the request to perform the questionnaires during the normal school hours, explaining the content and purpose of the study. Where approval was granted by school management dates and logistics involved were subsequently determined. Classes with children belonging to the two pre-determined age groups (6-10 and 12-16 years) were chosen by the teachers, who also administered the questionnaires. The number of children who did respond to the demographic questions of the questionnaire is described in table 5.25, which belongs to the results section 5.2.

5.1.1.3.2. Instrumentation

After a brief introduction given by the investigator, the children were given questionnaires (described below) to fill in during 30 min under the supervision of the investigator and facilitators. No discussions between the children during the session were allowed. The design of the questions was oriented to get an idea about how children think and experience violence

and peace tendencies manifested in the way conflicts are resolved and to which the children gave their input.

5.1.1.3.3. Data Collection

The questionnaire contains 40 questions designed to address experiential, behavioural, and attitude aspects in relation to conflicts in the school setting, see Appendix 6A for the English translation and Appendix 6B for the Spanish original. The questions probed the participating children's exposure to violence, their behaviour and attitudes concerning violent conflict and conflict resolution in the peer context at school and in the family setting.

The questions were formulated as statements and developed based on researching a combination of sources including Selman's theory of interpersonal perspective taking (IPT) and interpersonal negotiation strategies (INS), negotiation and peace education theory. In addition insights were drawn from the researcher's direct observations of children when having conflict at school, discussion with teachers in Colombia, knowledge of the socio-political context in Colombia and readings about different types of questionnaires in related topics as well as discussions with Professor Roland Reichenbach from Zürich University.

The questions were divided into in three main conceptual subgroups in order to ensure clarity about what was being asked and facilitate measuring outcomes. The subgroups comprised questions about (a) attitudes, which had to do with the child's thoughts and emotions about a particular situation or person in a conflict (Stern 1995); (b) Behaviour, which relates to the child's response and concrete action to external and internal stimuli in a conflict (Starr and Taggart 1992); and (c) Experience, which concerns the happening or state of having been affected by or acquired knowledge through direct observation or participation in a peaceful or violent action. The responses to these question categories would indicate competencies or attitudes in relation to violence or peace that the children are aware of. The questions reflected an emphasis placed on the assessment of the child's sense of violence or peace competences related to the friendship domain, school and family.

In some cases some questions were asked twice but worded differently with the aim to get validation that the answer was the same. The questionnaire comprised 40 questions and once a saturation point was reached so that there were enough arguments for the existence of each question a pilot questionnaire was produced. The pilot questionnaire was subsequently revised by various teachers in a school in Colombia and the corrections that they proposed, which had mainly to do with wording were implemented.

To the 40 questions the responders could answer choosing from one of four alternatives: Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; and Strongly disagree corresponding in the questionnaire to the response alternatives YES! Yes, no, NO! (translated from the Spanish 'SI', 'si, 'no' and 'NO' in the original questionnaire). Depending on the content and structure of a question itself the degree of agreement expressed in the response could either be more 'peaceful' or more 'violent' in regards to the 3 main aspects attitude, experience and behaviour. 'Peaceful' and

'violent' are general terms here used to denote a quality of variety of parameters that are perceived as either conducive of constructive non-violent addressing of conflicts or in contrast as opening the door to violence escalation directly or indirectly. For instance, Question 1 "Other children insult me or threaten me" explores the responders' perceived experience of violence and consequently belongs to the 'Violence experience' category. So does Question 25 "I listen to my family when they say that I should avoid getting into fights", designed to probe the family context. Strongly disagreeing with this question indicates a family environment that do not promote verbal exchange and consequently does not expose the child to verbal non-violent conflict resolution strategies and is therefore categorized as 'violent' – the term violent being used in a broad sense in the direction of 'non-peaceful'. An example of 'Peace attitude' question is Question 30 "I like to be with groups that don't get into troubles". This type of question probes the participants reasoning and convictions in relation to situations directly or indirectly associated with violence. There are hence questions belonging to the following 6 dimensions: 'Peaceful experience', 'Peaceful attitude', 'Peaceful behaviour', 'Violent experience', 'Violent attitude' and 'Violent behaviour'. Three questions specifically addressed verbal tackling of conflicts, broadly examining children's experience of negotiations: Questions 19 "I try to talk out a problem instead of fists fighting", 29 "At home we speak about our problems and try to find a solution" and 35 "In a group one should say one`s opinion", they are categorized as 'Conflict handling'.

In addition the following demographic data were included in the questionnaire: age, gender, primary caretaker, secondary caretaker(s), and city and city neighbourhood. Each neighbourhood was labelled according official social strata classification, which in turn was used to categorize the schools into 'poor', 'middle' and 'rich' social levels (see Appendix 7 for information on social strata categorization).

Having described the questionnaire study methodology and research design the next section describes the approached used for the quantitative analyses of the focus group study.

5.1.1.3.4. Factor Analysis of Questionnaire

The raw data from the questionnaires were screened for missing responses. Initially, 5.95% of data points on the 40-item questionnaire were missing. Further screening revealed that there were 4 participants who did not complete any of the main questionnaire items. These participants were deleted from the dataset based on their lack of any data relevant to the analysis. An additional 18 participants were missing data on more than 30 of the questions (75% of possible questions), so these cases were deleted as well, as imputation of the missing data would be likely to be flawed (Myers 2011). The remaining 1,235 participants had a total of 4.45% of data points missing. These missing data were imputed using a hot deck imputation procedure (Myers 2011). Hot deck imputation is superior (less biased) to more common methods for handling missing data (such as listwise deletion; Myers, 2011), and it is particularly effective when amounts of missing data are small (i.e. less than 10%; Roth, 1994). Specifically, the results of hot deck imputation yield standard errors that are more accurate

representations of true population parameters than more traditional approaches such as listwise deletion or mean imputation (Myers 2011). Practically, hot deck imputation is useful because it only imputes possible values, as opposed to regression-based procedures that often impute impossible values (in this case, negative values or decimal responses).

Data were then screened for multivariate outliers, which Tabachnick & Fidell (2013) define as individual cases with Mahalanobis Distance values greater than the Chi-Square critical value associated with the degrees of freedom equal to the number of variables. In this case, the number of variables was 40. Using this procedure, the critical value of a Chi-square with 40 degrees of freedom was 82.06. There were 57 individual cases with a Mahalanobis Distance value greater than this cut-off, and these cases were deleted.

Several questions in the questionnaire were also reverse coded before the factor analyses. The rationale behind this operation was the following: As mentioned above the questionnaire responses were graded according to a four-level Likert scale (1 - 4) where the lowest scores were given to the most disagreeing response alternative (score 1) and the highest score to the most agreeing alternative (score 4). For those questions that were formulated in such a way that the most peaceful response alternative also was the most disagreeing one the responses were retrospectively reverse scored before the factor analyses so that also for these questions the most peaceful response would be given the highest score. The following questions were reverse coded: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 33, and 37. The reverse coded versions of these questions were used for the factor analyses but not where indicated in the analyses of individual questions below. The full sample that remained consisted of 1,178 cases, which was split into two random subsamples of 589 cases in each. These two random subsamples were used separately in the following EFA and CFAs.

Further details on the execution of the exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses, EFA and CFA, is embedded in the results section. The reason is that the construction of a factor model with determination of questions to include in the model and subsequent identification of individual factors together forms a step-by-step process with reiterated EFA runs with intermediate outcomes or results leading to the final model. Hence the methodological process steps and results – intermediate and final - are best represented in one account, which is found in results section 5.2.1.3.

5.1.1.3.5. Frequency Analysis of Individual Questions

A number of questionnaire questions that did not load to any of the two questions were selected for further analysis based on their relevance for the main research question concerning how children think and feel about conflict with a friend. The rationale for the section of individual questions was the following: To Factor 1 loaded questions connected with violence experience, whereas Factor 2 contained questions capturing peace experience and peace behaviour. Consequently, questions probing for violence attitudes and behaviour were not covered in the factor analysis. Since gaining further understanding of children's

perceptions of violent conflict comprises a key objective in this study the questions Q16, Q17, Q18, Q21 and Q37, which all relate to violent actions or attitudes, were selected for individual analysis. In addition, questions Q15 and Q19, which address peace behavior-related aspects were selected. The reason for choosing these two questions is that they in a particular way address the children's propensity to solve conflicts in a non-violent way, which constitutes a central theme in the current thesis. These questions chosen for individual analysis are shown in Table 5.4 below.

Table 5.4: Individual Questionnaire Questions Selected for Response Frequency Analysis with corresponding Question Content Category and Interpretation of Agreeing Response

Nr	Question	Question content category	Inclination reflected by agreeing response
15	"After I have fought with my friend we forgive each other and continue to be friends"	Peace behaviour	Peaceful
19	"I try to talk out a problem instead of fist fighting"	Peace behaviour	Peaceful
16	"When I lose a match or a game, I get angry and violent."	Violence behaviour	Non-Peaceful
17	"If I am jealous or envious of someone I want to 'kill' that person- at least in my thoughts."	Violence attitude	Non-Peaceful
18	"When I have a problem with another child I swear and say stupid words."	Violence behaviour	Non-Peaceful
21	"If a child teases me I usually cannot stop him or her unless I hit him."	Violence behaviour	Non-Peaceful
37	"I get angry if a friend leaves me alone and goes with a new friend."	Violence attitude	Non-Peaceful

Table 5.4: The questionnaire questions analysed individually using frequency distribution of responses and the interpretation of response alternatives.

In order to assess demographic differences in the response pattern for these questions Chi-square analysis of the number of children who had chosen either of the four different response alternatives: Strongly disagree, Disagree, Agree and Strongly agree. The Chi-square analyses assessed the actual and theoretical distribution of responses comparing genders; younger and older age groups; poor, middle and rich social strata; Bogota and Cucuta residency and to determine whether there are any significant differences between the demographic groups for these specific questions.

5.2. RESULTS

This section describes the outcomes obtained from the empirical study from school children in two cities in Colombia these results corresponding to quantitative and qualitative data sets. Finally a description and discussion of the limitations of the study is presented.

5.2.1. QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

For the quantitative results, the transformed quantitized data from the focus group input in the form of IPT and INS scores are first presented. Thereafter the results obtained through the responses from the children on the statements in the questionnaires analysed using both factor analyses are described, together with the complementary frequency distribution analysis of responses to selected individual questions.

5.2.1.1. Interpersonal Perspective Taking (IPT)

In the following section the IPT levels are compared between the demographic subgroups. Note that for IPT, the number of observations ('N' in the tables) signifies number of citations scored, not the number of children.

5.2.1.1.1. Comparison of IPT levels between younger and older participants

Comparing IPT levels (Table 5.5) between younger (6-10 years) and older participants (12-14 years) showed higher mean for the latter group (M_{Older} = 1.79, SD = .688 vs. $M_{Younger}$ = 1.22, SD = .526). Levene's test was significant (F = 4.269, p = .04) not allowing assumptions on equality of variances (Table 5.6). The t-test showed a high level of significance (t(257) = p <.000, Table 5.6). Hence, the data suggest that older children show a higher IPT score than the younger children, which of course was the expected outcome. Using Cohen's d the effect size was 0.93 (pooled SD =0.612) indicating a large effect size (Sawilowsky 2009).

Table 5.5 Descriptive statistics of IPT levels of younger and older participants

AGE	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Younger (6-10 years)	115	1.22	.526	.049
Older (12-14 years)	144	1.79	.688	.057

Table 5.6 Independent Samples Test of difference in IPT levels between Younger and Older participants

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Equal variances assumed	4.269	.040	-7.387	257	.000	-.574
Equal variances not assumed			-7.608	256.541	.000	-.574

5.2.1.1.2. Comparison of IPT levels between male and female participants

The next comparison was between male and female participants in the study. The females displayed a suggestive increase in IPT in comparison to the males ($M_{Females}$ = 1.59, SD = .678 vs. M_{Males} = 1.48, SD = .687, Table 5.7). This difference could not however be confirmed through the t-test (t(257) = -1.254, p = .211, Table 5.8), where preceding Levene's test supported equality of variance (F= .047, P = .829, Table 5.8). Based on the available data from this study we are hence not in the position to suggest any gender differences in IPT scores.

Table 5.7 Descriptive statistics of IPT levels of Males and Female participants

GENDER	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Male	119	1.48	.687	.063
Female	140	1.59	.678	.057

Table 5.8 Independent Samples Test of difference in IPT levels between male and female participants

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Equal variances assumed	.047	.829	-1.254	257	.211	-.107
Equal variances not assumed			-1.253	249.284	.211	-.107

5.2.1.1.3. Comparison of IPT levels between participants from Cucuta and Bogota

In Table 5.9 the mean IPT scores of participants from Cucuta (M_{Cucuta} = 1.59, SD = .755) and Bogota (M_{Bogota} = 1.50, SD = .652) are shown with slight numerical difference between them. Levene's test in Table 5.10 failed to show significance (F = 2.680, p = .103) indicating that equal variances can be assumed for the two groups. No significant difference (t(253) = 1.003, p = .317) in IPT means between the cities was shown in the independent samples t-test (Table 5.10).

Table 5.9 Descriptive statistics of IPT levels of participants from Bogota and Cucuta

City	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Cucuta	81	1.59	.755	.084
Bogota	174	1.50	.652	.049

Table 5.10 Independent Samples Test of difference in IPT levels between participants from Cucuta and Bogota

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Equal variances assumed	2.680	.103	1.003	253	.317	.093
Equal variances not assumed			.951	137.548	.343	.093

5.2.1.1.4. Comparison of IPT levels between participants from poor and rich social strata

The IPT mean of the poor group (strata 1-2) (M_{Poor} = 1.35, SD = .648) was lower than that of the rich (strata 5-6) (M_{Rich} = 1.81, SD = .667, Table 5.11). Again Levene's test (Table 5.12) was not significant (F = 1.043, p = .308) and the t-test assuming equality of variances displayed a strong significance (t(229) = -5.163, p < .000), suggesting higher IPT levels among the rich than among the poor based on the citations collected (Table 5.12). Using Cohen's d the effect size was 0.70 (pooled SD = 0.658) indicating a medium to large effect size (Sawilowsky 2009).

Table 5.11 Descriptive statistics of IPT levels of participants from poor and rich social strata

STRATA	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Poor (strata 1-2)	147	1.35	.648	.053
Rich (strata 5-6)	84	1.81	.667	.073

Table 5.12 Independent Samples Test of difference in IPT levels between participants from rich and poor social strata

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Equal variances assumed	1.043	.308	-5.163	229	.000	-.463
Equal variances not assumed			-5.122	168.715	.000	-.463

5.2.1.2. Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies (INS)

In the following section the IPT levels are compared between the demographic subgroups. The number of observations ('N' in the tables) signifies the number of children.

5.2.1.2.1. Comparison of INS levels between younger and older participants

The comparison between younger (6-10 years) and older participants (12-14 years) showed a significant difference in INS levels ($M_{Younger}$ = 1.60, SD = .683 vs. M_{Older} = 2.06, SD = .685, t(107) = -3.478, p = .001, table 5.13), with equal variances assumed (F = 1.893, p = .172, table 5.14) and the magnitude of this difference was twice that for the city and strata comparisons. The effect size was 0.67 using Cohen's d (pooled SD = 0.684) suggesting a medium to large effect size (Sawilowsky 2009). Thus, as for the IPT scoring described above, the grouping into older and younger children allowed also for INS the differentiation of older children from younger, with significantly higher mean score for the older children.

Table 5.13 Descriptive statistics of INS levels of younger and older participants

AGE	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Younger (6-10 years)	55	1.60	.683	.092
Older (12-14 years)	54	2.06	.685	.093

Table 5.14 Independent Samples Test of difference in INS levels between younger and older participants

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Equal variances assumed	1.893	.172	-3.478	107	.001	-.456
Equal variances not assumed			-3.477	106.955	.001	-.456

5.2.1.2.2. Comparison of INS levels between male and female participants

No significant differences in INS mean scores were detected when comparing males (M_{Males} = 1.73, SD = .695) and females ($M_{Females}$ = 1.91, SD = .732, t(107) = -1.372, p = .173, tables 5.15 and 5.16) with equal variances assumed (F = .237, p = .628, table 5.16), although suggestive trend in scoring for girls in comparison to boys was displayed in the expected direction.

Table 5.15 Descriptive statistics of INS levels of male and female participants

GENDER	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
1 Male	51	1.73	.695	.097
2 Female	58	1.91	.732	.096

Table 5.16 Independent Samples Test of difference in INS levels between male and female participants

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Equal variances assumed	.237	.628	-1.372	107	.173	-.188
Equal variances not assumed			-1.376	106.358	.172	-.188

5.2.1.2.3. Comparison of INS levels between participants from Cucuta and Bogota

The results from the comparisons between the cities indicated a non-significant trend with slightly lower INS mean for participating children from Cucuta (M_{Cucuta} = 1.69, SD = .676) than from Bogota (M_{Bogota} = 1.89, SD = .732, t(107) = -1.406, p = .163, equal variances assumed: F = .010, p = .919) as shown in tables 5.17 and 5.18.

Table 5.17 Descriptive statistics of INS levels of participants from Cucuta and Bogota

City	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
1 Cucuta	35	1.69	.676	.114
2 Bogota	74	1.89	.732	.085

Table 5.18 Independent Samples Test of difference in INS levels between participants from Cucuta and Bogota

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Equal variances assumed	.010	.919	-1.406	107	.163	-.206
Equal variances not assumed			-1.447	71.878	.152	-.206

5.2.1.2.4. Comparison of INS levels between participants from poor and rich social strata

The numerical difference in INS mean scores between rich (strata 5-6) (M_{Rich} = 1.95, SD = .724) and poor (strata 1-2) (M_{Poor} = 1.72, SD = .715) also failed to reach statistical significance (t(97) = -1.570, p = .120, equal variances assumed: F = .418, p = .520, tables 5.19 and 5.20).

Table 5.19 Descriptive statistics of INS levels of participants from poor and rich social strata

STRATA	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
1 Poor (strata 1-2)	60	1.72	.715	.092
2 Rich (strata 5-6)	49	1.95	.724	.116

Table 5.20 Independent Samples Test of difference in INS levels between participants from poor and rich social strata

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Equal variances assumed	.418	.520	-1.570	97	.120	-.232
Equal variances not assumed			-1.566	80.643	.121	-.232

5.2.1.3. Factor Analysis of Questionnaire Responses

This section describes the results of the statistical analyses performed on the quantitative data set obtained through the questionnaire input provided by the children, beginning with the exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses performed followed by the inferential statistics of subgroup comparisons.

5.2.1.3.1. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)

A series of EFAs were conducted on the first random subsample. Procedures for EFAs were based on best-practices in the field (e.g. Costello & Osborne 2005). These practices include use of principal axis factoring with direct oblimin (oblique) rotation. The analyses proceeded in an iterative fashion. The initial decision about number of factors was based on examination of the scree plot and factor loadings on respective factors. Questionnaire statements (or questions) in the solution with rotated factor loadings of < .40 on all factors, or > .30 on 2 or more factors were deleted from the list of questions entered in the EFA. Any time questions were deleted, analyses were repeated on the reduced series of questions. As questions were removed, the total number of factors was fixed to 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 factors, which were all potential solutions based on the initial scree plot. When the final clean solution was identified, Cronbach's alpha was computed in this random subsample.

The results from these analyses are displayed in Diagrams 5.3 (original scree plot) and 5.4 (final scree plot), and the factor loadings are shown in Table 5.21. The proportion of variance in the constructs explained by each factor is shown in Table 5.22. Overall, the two factor solution accounted for a 44.41% of the total variance among questions retained. Cronbach's alpha for factor one was calculated as .69 and .73, respectively, in this subsample. These Cronbach's alpha values either approximated to or exceeded the accepted level of .70 suggested by George and Mallery (2010).

Diagram 5.3 Original Scree Plot (n = 589)

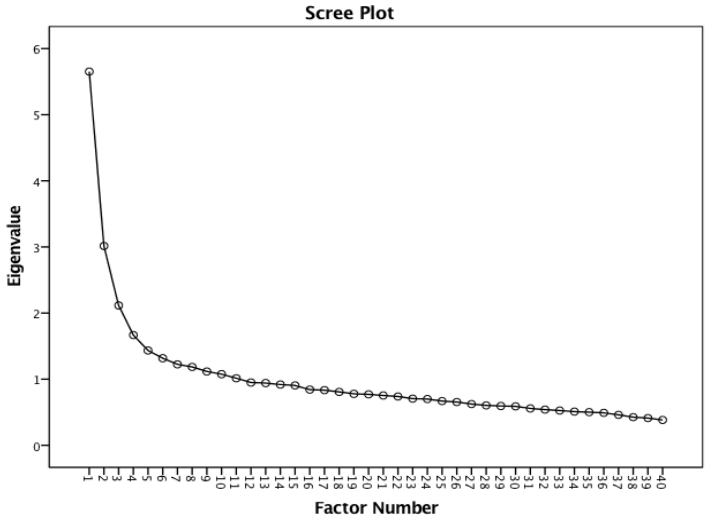


Diagram 5.3: Original Scree Plot of the EFA based on all 40 questionnaire questions included with corresponding Eigenvalues for each question (n = 589).

Diagram 5.4 Scree Plot Based on the Final 11 Questions Retained for Analyses (n = 589)

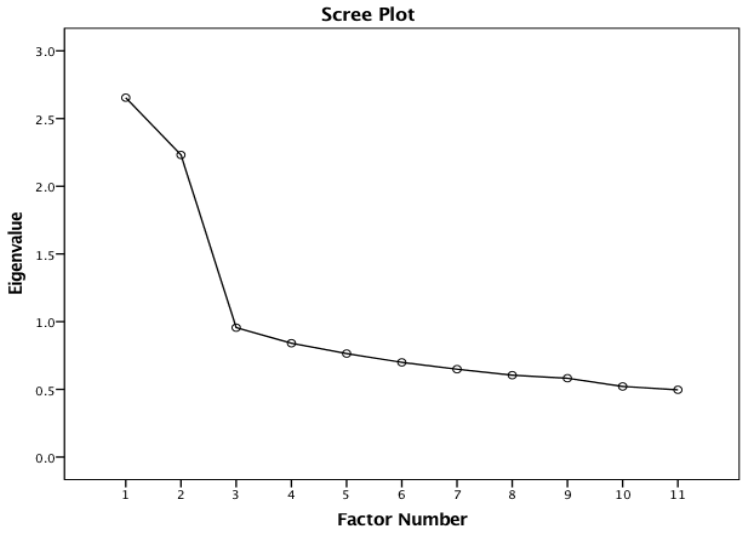


Diagram 5.4: Final Scree Plot of the EFA based on the remaining 11 questionnaire questions with corresponding Eigenvalues for each question (n = 589).

Table 5.21 Loadings to Factor 1 and Factor 2 from EFA of Questions Retained for Further Analyses (n = 589)

Questionnaire question	Factor 1	Factor 2
q1r: Other children insult me or threaten me	.64	-.05
q2r: Other adults insult me or threaten me	.59	.07
q4r: Other children beat me	.68	-.04
q5r: Other adults beat me	.56	.02
q12r: Other schoolmates bully me often	.70	.02
q29: At home we speak about our problems and try to find a solution	.01	.47
q31: My parents, brothers and sisters love me	.13	.49
q32: I like to do group work with my classmates	.06	.47
q34: I like to help other children	-.11	.53
q36: I say sorry if I had done something wrong to another child	.01	.58
q39: I like to be at peace with my classmates	-.05	.45

Note. 'r' denotes that the question was reverse scored.

Table 5.22 Cumulative Variance for the final Two-Factor Solution

Source	Factor 1	Factor 2
Proportion of Variance	24.13	20.29
Cumulative Variance	24.13	44.41

Note. Numbers presented are percentages.

5.2.1.3.2. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA)

To cross-validate the results from the EFA, a CFA was conducted on the second subsample of 589. Several fit indices were used to examine fit of the 2-factor model to the observed data in the second subsample. Based on recommended practices (Kline 2011), the model was determined to have a good fit with observed data if the comparative fit index (CFI) was greater than .95, standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) was less than .05, and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) was less than .05. Fit is considered adequate when CFI is greater than .90 and RMSEA is less than .08. As is common with structural equation model reporting practices, the chi-square is also reported, wherein a non-significant chi-square is indicative of a good model fit. However, it was not evaluated because chi-square values are known to be sensitive to inflation in very large samples (Hu & Bentler 1999).

Based on these criteria, the 2-factor model had an adequate to good fit with observed data, $\chi^2(43) = 131.65$, $p < .001$, CFI = .92, SRMR = .05, RMSEA = .059 ($95\%_{CI}$ = .04 - .07). Importantly, the only modifications that might enhance model fit were with regard to correlating questions within factors, which would not change interpretation when a total score is calculated. Given that fit indices met acceptable to good criteria, no further changes were made to the model. All factor loadings were clean (i.e. no cross-loadings) and strong (i.e. greater than .40). These factor loadings are displayed in Table 5.23. Cronbach's alpha for Factor 1 and Factor 2, in this second subsample, were calculated as .69 and .73, respectively, in this second subsample. These findings substantiate the Cronbach's alpha from the first random subsample, and indicate that the internal consistency was accurate.

Table 5.23 Loadings to Factor 1 and Factor 2 from CFA of Questions Retained for Further Analyses (n = 589)

Question	Factor 1	Factor 2
q1r: Other children insult me or threaten me	.63	--
q2r: Other adults insult me or threaten me	.60	--
q4r: Other children beat me	.53	--
q5r: Other adults beat me	.49	--
q12r: Other schoolmates bully me often	.56	--
q29: At home we speak about our problems and try to find a solution	--	.52
q31: My parents, brothers and sisters love me	--	.60
q32: I like to do group work with my classmates	--	.56
q34: I like to help other children	--	.59
q36: I say sorry if I had done something wrong to another child	--	.61
q39: I like to be at peace with my classmates	--	.48

Note. 'r' denotes that the question was reverse scored.

The two factors identified in the CFA procedure show clearly different emphases. Questionnaire statements loading to factor 1 all deal with experience of violence and factor two bundled statements that describe both peaceful experiences of other individuals as well as own peaceful actions. Factor 1 and factor 2 were therefore then labelled 'Violence experience' and 'Peace experience and behaviour', respectively in order to facilitate discussion of the results.

5.2.1.3.3. Descriptive Statistics of Variables Age, Factor 1, Factor 2 and of the Categorical Demographic Variables

To investigate the primary research questions, total scores were computed for each factor score. To retain the original scaling, and thus aid in interpretation, the total scores were computed as a sum of all questions divided by the number of questions. Thus, scores of 4.0 on the total scores refer to YES!, as in the original scaling of individual questions. The internal consistency of these scales in the total sample, as calculated with Cronbach's alpha, were .69 and .72, for Factors 1 and 2, respectively. Descriptive statistics of study variables are displayed in Tables 5.28 and 5.29. As seen Table 5.24 the mean age of the participating children was

10.44 years with age span from 5 to 16 years. The average score for questions loading to Factor 1 (Violence experience) and Factor 2 (Peace experience and behaviour) were 3.53 and 3.59, respectively, after reverse scoring (see note to Table 5.23). These results suggest similar overall levels of 'peacefulness' for the questionnaire responses to questions loading to the two factors lying in-between score 3 (second most peaceful response alternative) and score 4 (most peaceful response alternative).

Table 5.24 Descriptive Statistics for the Continuous Variables Factors 1 and 2 and Age (N = 1178)

Variable	M	SD	Min	Max
Age	10.44	2.99	5	16
Factor 1	3.53	0.55	1	4
Factor 2	3.59	0.46	1	4

The categorical variables (Table 5.25) showed comparable proportions of males (53.3%) vs. females (45.2%), younger (47.3%) vs. older (46.9%) children, children from Bogota (56.4%) vs. from Cucuta (43.5%). For the social strata categories children from rich backgrounds (strata 5-6) (11.0%) were somewhat underrepresented in comparison to poor (strata 1-2) (45.9%) and middle class children (strata 3-4) (38.7%). Reponses rates were never lower than 94.2%, which was the rate for responses to the question about age.

Table 5.25 Frequencies and Percentages for Categorical Data according to Children Responses to the Demographic Questions of Questionnaire (N = 1178)

Variable	**N**	**%**	**Valid %**
Age			
Younger (6 to 10 years)	557	47.3	50.2
Older (12 to 14 years)	553	46.9	49.8
No response	68	5.8	-
Gender			
Male	628	53.3	54.1
Female	532	45.2	45.9
No response	18	1.5	-
Social strata			
Poor (strata 1-2)	541	45.9	48.0
Middle (strata 3-4)	456	38.7	40.5
Rich (strata 5-6)	130	11.0	11.5
No response	51	4.4	-
City			
Cucuta	513	43.5	43.5
Bogota	664	56.4	56.4
No response	1	0.1	-

5.2.1.3.4. Correlations between the Factors and continuous study variable Age

Correlations between the study factors and continuous study variable Age were performed, and results are presented in Table 5.26. Although Factor 1 (Violence experience) and Factor 2 (Peace experience and behaviour) correlated significantly, the magnitude or effect size (r^2, the coefficient for determination) of the correlation was very small. The effect size r^2, which is based on the shared variance between the two continuous variables (Factor 1 vs. Factor 2), is less than .01, or less than 1%. This means that only 1 % of the variance in the Factor 1 can be explained by Factor 2. Both factors correlated significantly with the other continuous variable, Age, such that older children were more likely to score higher on factor 1, but lower on factor 2. Estimates of effect size, r^2 were .02 (2%) for the association between Factor 1 and age, and .12 (12%) for the association between Factor 2 and age. Though significant, these effect size values suggest very weak correlations (Cohen, 1992).

Table 5.26 Correlation Coefficients for the Continuous Variables Factors 1 and 2 and Age (n = 1178)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Age
Factor 1	--	.08**	.15**
Factor 2		--	-.35**
Age			--

Note. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

5.2.1.3.5. Factor 1 – Violence Experience: Demographic Comparisons

A summary of all comparisons across groups for Factor 1 (Violence experience) is presented in Table 5.27. For gender (n = 1,160 participants with valid gender data), Levene's test for equality of variances was statistically significant ($F = 12.03$, $p < .001$). Note that Levine's test is an alternative to Bartlett's test, and it is a somewhat more conservative test (i.e. less sensitive to departures from normality; Levene, 1960). This indicates that the assumption of equal variances across genders was violated. Therefore, an adjusted t-test is reported, in which the value of t is adjusted to account for the unequal variances. This adjusted independent samples t-test was statistically significant, $t(1154.68) = 5.50$, $p < .001$. Specifically, participants who self-identified as female ($M = 3.62$, $SD = 0.51$) scored significantly higher than participants who self-identified as male ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 0.57$). The effect size of this difference was $d = 0.31$, which according to Cohen's (1992) conventions is in the small to medium range.

For age (n = 1,110 participants with valid age data), Levene's test was also significant ($F = 41.64$, $p < .001$). Results of the adjusted t-test revealed that participants who were older (i.e. ages 12-15 years; $M = 3.60$, $SD = 0.45$) scored significantly higher than participants who were younger (i.e. ages 6-10 years; $M = 3.46$, $SD = 0.63$), t (1013.24) = 4.14, $p < .001$. The

effect size of this difference is $d = 0.26$, which is in the small to medium range, according to Cohen's conventions.

For city ($n = 1{,}177$ participants with valid city data), Levene's test was also significant ($F = 13.41$, $p < .001$). Results of the adjusted t-test revealed that participants were from Cucuta ($M = 3.58$, $SD = 0.51$) scored significantly higher than participants from Bogota ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 0.57$), $t(1148.98) = 2.81$, $p = .010$. The effect size of this difference is $d = 0.16$, which is in the small range, according to Cohen's conventions.

To compare Factor 1 across strata ($n = 1{,}127$ participants with valid strata data), a One-Way ANOVA was conducted. Levene's test of homogeneity of variances (equality of variances) was statistically significant ($F = 7.03$, $p = .04$). When Levene's test is significant in an ANOVA, adjusted post-hocs can be interpreted to account for unequal variances. However, results revealed that there were no significant differences between poor ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 0.59$), middle ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 0.52$), and rich ($M = 3.62$, $SD = 0.46$), $F(2, 1124) = 1.69$, $p = .190$. Therefore, no post-hocs were evaluated. Correspondingly, the effect size for the magnitude of differences between groups observed was very small, eta-squared = .003.

Table 5.27: Factor 1 Comparisons across the Demographic Groups Age, Gender, City, and Strata

	Results			
Comparison Groups	M	SD	t or F	Effect Size
Gender			5.50***	0.31
Male	3.45	0.57		
Female	3.62	0.51		
Age Group			4.14***	0.26
Younger	3.46	0.63		
Older	3.60	0.45		
City			2.81**	0.16
Cucuta	3.58	0.51		
Bogota	3.49	0.57		
Strata			1.69	0.003
Poor	3.52	0.59		
Middle	3.53	0.52		
Rich	3.62	0.46		

***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$.

Note. F denotes Levene's F for equality of variances. t denotes Student's t-test variable. Effect size for t-tests is Cohen's d; Effect size for ANOVA is eta-squared.

5.2.1.3.6. Factor 2 – Peace Experience and Behaviour: Demographic Comparisons

A summary of all results for cross-group comparisons for Factor 2 is presented in Table 5.28. For gender (n = 1,160 participants with valid gender data), Levene's test was significant (F = 17.29, p < .001). The corrected independent samples t-test was statistically significant, t(1156.18) = 4.00, p < .001. Specifically, participants who self-identified as female (M = 3.65, SD = 0.40) scored significantly higher than participants who self-identified as male (M = 3.55, SD = 0.50). The effect size of this difference was d = 0.22, which according to Cohen's (1992) conventions is in the small to medium range.

For age (n = 1,110 participants with valid age data), Levene's test was statistically significant (F = 58.10, p < .001). According to the adjusted t-test, participants who were younger (i.e. ages 6-10 years; M = 3.77, SD = 0.36) scored significantly higher than participants who were older (i.e. ages 12-15 years; M = 3.43, SD = 0.48), t (1027.06) = 13.43, p < .001. The effect size of this difference is d = .80, which is in the large range, according to Cohen's conventions.

For city (n = 1177 participants with valid city data), Levene's test was significant (F = 6.77, p = .01). According to the corrected t-test, there was a significant difference in Factor 2 between Cucuta (M = 3.62, SD = 0.42) and Bogota (M = 3.57, SD = 0.49), t(1164.03) = 1.98, p = .048. The effect size of the difference between the responses of participants from these cities was 0.11, which is in the small range, according to Cohen's conventions.

To compare Factor 2 across strata (n = 1127 participants with valid city data), a One-Way ANOVA was conducted. Levene's test of homogeneity of variances (equality of variances) was statistically significant (F = 7.03, p = .001). When Levene's test is significant in an ANOVA, adjusted post-hocs can be interpreted to account for unequal variances. However, results revealed that there were no significant differences between poor (strata 1-2) (M = 3.57, SD = 0.51), middle (strata 3-6) (M = 3.62, SD = 0.41), and rich (strata 5-6) (M = 3.63, SD = 0.40), F(2, 1124) = 0.49, p = .10. Therefore, no post-hoc tests were consulted. Correspondingly, the effect size for the magnitude of differences between groups observed was very small, eta-squared = .004.

Table 5.28 Factor 2 Comparisons across the Demographic Groups Age, Gender, City, and Strata

	Results			
Comparison Groups	M	SD	t or F	Effect Size
Gender			4.00***	0.22
Male	3.55	0.50		
Female	3.65	0.40		
Age Group			13.43***	0.80
Younger	3.77	0.36		
Older	3.43	0.48		
City			1.98*	0.11
Cucuta	3.62	0.42		
Bogota	3.57	0.49		
Strata				
Poor (strata 1-2)	3.57	0.51	0.49	0.004
Middle (strata 3-4)	3.62	0.41		
Rich (strata 5-6)	3.63	0.40		

***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$.

Note. F denotes Levene's F for equality of variances. t denotes Student's t-test variable. Effect size for t-tests is Cohen's *d*; Effect size for ANOVA is eta-squared.

5.2.1.4. Frequency Distribution of Responses to Selected Questions and Demographic comparisons

Although other questionnaire statements did not load onto any factors, those statements of most importance to the present research questions were analysed individually comparing response patterns across gender, age, city, and strata categories. The analyses of statements Q15 and Q19 are first described as both pertain to peaceful behaviour. The statements Q16, Q17, Q18, Q21 and Q37 all relate to violent actions or attitudes and are subsequently presented.

5.2.1.4.1. Question 15: Response frequency distribution and demographic comparisons

For question 15 ("After I have fought with my friend we forgive each other and continue to be friends"), the general response pattern showed that 90.2% of the children chose one of the

two agreeing response alternatives, hence responding 'peacefully', whereas 8.7% disagreed moderately or strongly providing a 'violent' answer type.

Q15: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between younger and older participants

A significant difference was found for age (χ^2(3, N = 1110) = 88.99, p < .001, Table 5.29). Participants who were younger were more likely to report YES! (n = 458) than were expected by chance (n = 393.4), while participants who were older were less likely to report YES! (n = 326) than were expected by chance (n = 390.6). In contrast, younger participants were less likely to report yes (n = 57) than were expected by chance (n = 116.9), while older participants were more likely to report yes (n = 176) than were expected by chance (n = 116.1).

Table 5.29 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Younger and Older Participants' Responses to Q15

		Age Group	
		Younger	Older
Q15 (After I have fought with my friend we forgive each other and continue to be friends)	NO!	23 (2.1%)	16 (1.4%)
	no	19 (1.7%)	35 (3.2%)
	yes	57 (5.1%)	176 (15.9%)
	YES!	458 (41.3%)	326 (29.4%)

Note. χ^2(3, N = 1110) = 88.99, p < .001.

Q15: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between male and female participants

There were no significant differences across gender (χ^2(3, N = 1160) = 7.26, p = .064, Table 5.30).

Table 5.30 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Male and Female Participants' Reponses to Q15

		Gender	
		Male	Female
Q15 (After I have fought with my friend we forgive each other and continue to be friends)	NO!	26 (2.2%)	18 (1.6%)
	no	25 (2.2%)	32 (2.8%)
	yes	150 (12.9%)	99 (8.5%)
	YES!	427 (36.8%)	383 (33.0%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N = 1160) = 7.26$, $p = .064$.

Q15: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from Cucuta and Bogota

There was a significant difference for city ($\chi^2(3, N = 1177) = 10.98$, $p = .012$, Table 5.31). Within Cucuta, there were fewer participants who responded NO! to this question ($n = 10$) than were expected based on chance alone ($n = 19.2$), whereas in Bogota, there were more participants who answered NO! to this question ($n = 34$) than were expected based on chance ($n = 24.8$). Conversely, in Cucuta there were more participants who answered YES! to this question ($n = 376$) than were expected ($n = 358.7$), whereas in Bogota, there were fewer participants who answered YES! ($n = 447$) than were expected ($n = 464.3$).

Table 5.31 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q15 of Participants from Cucuta and Bogota

		City	
		Cucuta	Bogota
Q15 (After I have fought with my friend we forgive each other and continue to be friends)	NO!	10 (0.8%)	34 (2.9%)
	no	21 (1.8%)	38 (3.2%)
	yes	106 (9.0%)	145 (12.3%)
	YES!	376 (31.9%)	447 (38.0%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N = 1177) = 10.98$, $p = .012$.

Q15: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from poor, middle and rich social strata

A significant difference also emerged for strata (χ^2(6, N = 1127) = 26.37, p < .001, Table 5.32). Subsequent post-hoc Chi-Square tests that directly compared poor to rich, middle to rich, and poor to middle revealed that the differences existed between poor and middle, as well as between poor and rich. Specifically, participants from poor strata were less likely to report YES! (*n* = 351) than was expected by chance (*n* = 379.2), whereas participants from middle strata were more likely to report YES! (*n* = 338) than was expected by chance (*n* = 319.6). Participants from the rich strata were also more likely to report YES! (*n* = 101) than was expected by chance (*n* = 91.1).

Table 5.32 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q15 of Participants from Poor (strata 1-4), Middle (strata 3-4) and Rich Social Strata (strata 5-6)

		Strata		
		poor	middle	rich
Q15 (After I have fought with my friend we forgive each other and continue to be friends)	NO!	34 (3.0%)	8 (0.7%)	2 (0.2%)
	no	35 (3.1%)	19 (1.7%)	2 (0.2%)
	yes	121 (10.7%)	91 (8.1%)	25 (2.2%)
	YES!	351 (31.1%)	338 (30.0%)	101 (9.0%)

Note. χ^2(6, N = 1127) = 26.37, p < .001.

5.2.1.4.2. Question 19: Response frequency distribution and demographic comparisons

On question 19 ("I try to talk out a problem instead of fist fighting"), the general response pattern showed that 74.9% of the children chose one of the two agreeing response alternatives, hence responding 'peacefully', whereas 25.1% disagreed moderately or strongly providing a 'violent' answer type.

Q19: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between younger and older participants

A significant difference on Q19 emerged across age groups (χ^2(3, N = 1110) = 171.38, *p* < .001, Table 5.33). Younger participants were significantly more likely to report YES! (*n* = 338) than was expected by chance (*n* = 278.5), while older participants were significantly less likely to

report YES! (*n* = 217) than was expected by chance (*n* = 276.5). Far fewer younger participants reported yes (*n* = 53) than was expected by chance (*n* = 137.0), while far more of the older participants reported yes (*n* = 220) than was expected by chance (*n* = 136.0).

Table 5.33 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Younger and Older Participants' Responses to Q19

		Age Groups	
		Young	Old
Q19 (I try to talk out a problem instead of fist fighting)	NO!	119 (10.7%)	42 (3.8%)
	no	47 (4.2%)	74 (6.7%)
	yes	53 (4.8%)	220 (19.8%)
	YES!	338 (30.5%)	217 (19.5%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N = 1110) = 171.38$, $p < .001$.

Q19: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between male and female participants

There was a significant difference across gender ($\chi^2(3, N = 1160) = 40.83$, $p < .001$, Table 5.34). Participants who were male were less likely to report YES! (*n* = 257) than was expected by chance (*n* = 309.7), while participants who were female were more likely to report YES! (*n* = 315) than was expected by chance along (*n* = 262.3).

Table 5.34 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Male and Female Participants' Reponses to Q19

		Gender	
		Male	Female
Q19 (I try to talk out a problem instead of fist fighting)	NO!	111 (9.6%)	56 (4.8%)
	no	83 (7.2%)	43 (3.7%)
	yes	177 (15.3%)	118 (10.2%)
	YES!	257 (22.2%)	315 (27.2%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N = 1160) = 40.83$, $p < .001$.

Q19: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from Cucuta and Bogota

There was also a significant difference on Q19 across cities ($\chi^2(3, N = 1177) = 18.93$, $p < .001$, Table 5.35). Specifically, participants from Cucuta were significantly more likely to report YES!

(*n* = 282) than was expected by chance (*n* = 254.4), whereas participants from Bogota were significantly less likely to report YES! (*n* = 302) than was expected by chance (*n* = 329.5).

Table 5.35 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q19 of Participants from Cucuta and Bogota

		City	
		Cucuta	Bogota
Q19 (I try to talk out a problem instead of fist fighting)	NO!	54 (4.6%)	116 (9.9%)
	no	44 (3.7%)	82 (7.0%)
	yes	133 (11.3%)	164 (13.9%)
	YES!	282 (24.0%)	302 (25.7%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N = 1177) = 18.93$, $p < .001$.

Q19: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from poor, middle and rich social strata

A significant difference also was shown for strata ($\chi^2(6, N = 1127) = 23.53$, $p < .001$, Table 5.36). Post-hoc Chi-Square tests comparing each stratum to another revealed that the differences were between poor and middle, and between poor and rich. Participants from poor strata were less likely to report yes (*n* = 122) than was expected by chance (*n* = 138.3), while participants from middle (*n* = 126) or rich (*n* = 40) strata were more likely to report yes than was expected by chance (middle: *n* = 116.5; rich: *n* = 33.2).

Table 5.36 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q19 of Participants from Poor (strata 1-2), Middle (strata 3-4) and Rich Social Strata (strata 5-6)

		Strata		
		poor	middle	rich
Q19 (I try to talk out a problem instead of fist fighting)	NO!	104 (9.2%)	51 (4.5%)	10 (0.9%)
	no	49 (4.3%)	58 (5.1%)	12 (1.1%)
	yes	122 (10.8%)	126 (11.2%)	40 (3.5%)
	YES!	266 (23.6%)	221 (19.6%)	68 (6.0%)

Note. $\chi^2(6, N = 1127) = 23.53$, $p < .001$.

5.2.1.4.3. Question 16: Response frequency distribution and demographic comparisons

Question 16 was "When I lose a match or a game, I get angry and violent". Here, the general response pattern showed that 10.7% of the children chose one of the two agreeing response alternatives, hence responding 'violently', whereas 89.3% disagreed moderately or strongly providing a 'peaceful' answer type. For this chi-square analysis, the original scoring was retained.

Q16: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between younger and older participants

Younger participants differed significantly from older participants (χ^2(3, N = 1110) = 84.20, p < .001, Table 5.37). With younger participants being more likely to report NO! (*n* = 438) than was expected by chance (*n* = 374.3). Older participants, on the other hand, were less likely to report NO! (*n* = 308) than was expected by chance (*n* = 371.7).

Table 5.37 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Younger and Older Participants' Responses to Q16

		Age Groups	
		Younger	Older
Q16 (When I lose a match or a game, I get	NO!	438 (39.5%)	308 (27.7%)
get angry and violent)	no	61 (5.5%)	172 (15.5%)
	yes	29 (2.6%)	53 (4.8%)
	YES!	29 (2.6%)	20 (1.8%)

Note. χ^2(3, N =1110) = 84.20, *p* < .001.

Q16: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between male and female participants

A significant difference emerged for gender (χ^2(3, N = 1160) = 32.92, *p* < .001, Table 5.38). Participants who were male were more likely to report yes (*n* = 63) or YES! (*n* = 35) than was expected by chance. Conversely, participants who were female were less likely to report yes (*n* = 24) or YES (*n* = 14) than was expected by chance.

Table 5.38 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Male and Female Participants' Reponses to Q16

		Gender	
		Male	Female
Q16 (When I lose a match or a game, I get	NO!	382 (32.9%)	403 (34.7%)
get angry and violent)	no	148 (12.8%)	91 (7.8%)
	yes	63 (5.4%)	24 (2.1%)
	YES!	35 (3.0%)	14 (1.2%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N = 1160) = 32.92$, $p < .001$.

Q16: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from Cucuta and Bogota

There was no significant difference on Q16 across city ($\chi^2(3, N = 1177) = 0.85$, $p = .84$, Table 5.39).

Table 5.39 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q16 of Participants from Cucuta and Bogota

		City	
		Cucuta	Bogota
Q16 (When I lose a match or a game, I get	NO!	352 (29.9%)	446 (37.9%)
get angry and violent)	no	100 (8.5%)	142 (12.1%)
	yes	40 (3.4%)	47 (4.0%)
	YES!	21 (1.8%)	29 (2.5%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N = 1177) = 0.85$, $p = .84$

Q16: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from poor, middle and rich social strata

There was no significant difference across strata on Q16 ($\chi^2(6, N = 1127) = 12.06$, $p = .061$, Table 5.40).

Table 5.40 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q16 of Participants from Poor (strata 1-2), Middle (strata 3-4) and Rich Social Strata (strata 5-6)

		Strata		
		poor	middle	rich
Q16 (When I lose a match or a game, I get	NO!	386 (34.3%)	298 (26.4%)	87 (7.7%)
get angry and violent)	no	92 (8.2%)	107 (9.5%)	26 (20.0%)
	yes	45 (4.0%)	28 (2.5%)	8 (0.7%)
	YES!	18 (1.6%)	23 (2.0%)	9 (0.8%)

Note. $\chi^2(6, N = 1127) = 12.06$, $p = .061$.

5.2.1.4.4. Question 17: Response frequency distribution and demographic comparisons

Q17. The question Q17 was "If I am jealous or envious of someone I want to 'kill' that person-at least in my thoughts. Here, the general response pattern showed that 18.7% of the children chose one of the two agreeing response alternatives, hence responding 'violently', whereas 81.3% disagreed moderately or strongly, providing a 'peaceful' answer type.

Q17: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between younger and older participants

Significant differences did emerge across age groups ($\chi^2(3, N =1110) = 84.20$, $p < .001$, Table 5.41). Younger children were significantly more likely to report NO! ($n = 402$) than was expected by chance ($n = 330.7$), whereas older children were significantly less likely to report NO! ($n = 257$) than was expected by chance ($n = 328.3$). Conversely, older children were more likely to report yes ($n = 92$) than was expected by chance ($n = 63.3$).

Table 5.41 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Younger and Older Participants' Responses to Q17

		Age Groups	
		Younger	Older
Q17 (If I am jealous or envious of someone I want to	NO!	402 (36.2%)	257 (23.2%)
kill that person at least in my thoughts)	no	83 (7.5%)	156 (14.1%)
	yes	35 (3.2%)	92 (8.3%)
	YES!	37 (3.3%)	48 (4.3%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N =1110) = 84.20$, $p < .001$.

Q17: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between male and female participants

No differences emerged on this question across gender (χ^2(3, N =1160) = 0.65, *p* = .890, Table 5.42).

Table 5.42 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Male and Female Participants' Reponses to Q17

		Gender	
		Male	Female
Q17 (If I am jealous or envious of someone I want to kill that person at least in my thoughts)	NO!	373 (32.2%)	320 (27.6%)
	no	136 (11.7%)	112 (9.7%)
	yes	69 (5.9%)	63 (5.4%)
	YES!	50 (4.3%)	37 (3.2%)

Note. χ^2(3, N =1160) = 0.65, *p* = .890.

Q17: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from Cucuta and Bogota

There were no differences on this question across cities (χ^2(3, N = 1177) = 6.52, *p* = .089, Table 5.43).

Table 5.43 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q17 of Participants from Cucuta and Bogota

		City	
		Cucuta	Bogota
Q17 (If I am jealous or envious of someone I want to kill that person at least in my thoughts)	NO!	296 (25.1%)	411 (34.9%)
	no	107 (9.1%)	143 (12.1%)
	yes	61 (5.2%)	71 (6.0%)
	YES!	49 (4.2%)	39 (3.3%)

Note. χ^2(3, N = 1177) = 6.52, *p* = .089.

Q17: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from poor, middle and rich social strata

A significant difference emerged across strata, in which participants from the poor strata responded differently than participants from the middle or rich strata, but there were no differences between the middle and rich strata (χ2(6, N = 1127) = 25.40, p < .001, Table 5.44). Although the base rates of occurrence were low, participants in the rich (n = 14) stratum were more likely to respond YES! than was expected by chance (n = 8.9). A similar pattern emerged for the middle stratum, where they were more likely to respond YES! (n = 39) than was expected by chance (*n* = 32.5). However, participants from the poor stratum were less likely to report YES! (*n* = 32) than was expected by chance (*n* = 38.5).

Table 5.44 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q17 of Participants from Poor (strata 1-2), Middle (strata 3-4) and Rich Social Strata (strata 5-6)

		Strata		
		poor	middle	rich
Q17 (If I am jealous or envious of someone I want to kill that person at least in my thoughts)	NO!	364 (32.3%)	257 (22.8%)	61 (5.4%)
	no	100 (8.9%)	100 (8.9%)	37 (3.3%)
	yes	45 (4.0%)	60 (5.3%)	18 (1.6%)
	YES!	32 (2.8%)	39 (3.5%)	14 (1.2%)

Note. χ^2(6, N = 1127) = 25.40, *p* < .001.

5.2.1.4.5. Question 18: Response frequency distribution and demographic comparisons

This question was worded as "When I have a problem with another child I swear and say stupid words." Here, the general response pattern showed that 31.4% of the children chose one of the two agreeing response alternatives, hence responding 'violently', whereas 68.6% disagreed moderately or strongly providing a 'peaceful' answer type.

Q18: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between younger and older participants

There were differences across age groups (χ^2(3, N = 1110) = 511.52, *p* < .001, Table 5.45), with younger participants being more likely to report NO! (*n* = 466) than was expected by chance (*n* = 280.5), and older participants being less likely to report NO! (*n* = 93) than was expected

by chance alone (*n* = 278.5). Accordingly, older participants were more likely to report YES! (*n* = 87) than was expected by chance (*n* = 7.8%).

Table 5.45 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Younger and Older Participants' Responses to Q18

		Age Groups	
		Younger	Older
Q18 (When I have a problem with another child I swear and say stupid words)	NO!	466 (83.7%)	93 (8.4%)
	no	52 (4.7%)	152 (13.7%)
	yes	17 (1.5%)	221 (19.9)
	YES!	22 (2.0%)	87 (7.8%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N = 1110) = 511.52$, $p < .001$.

Q18: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between male and female participants

No differences in response patterns emerged across gender ($\chi^2(3, N = 1160) = 3.92$, $p = .270$, Table 5.46)

Table 5.46 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Male and Female Participants' Reponses to Q18

		Gender	
		Male	Female
Q18 (When I have a problem with another child I swear and say stupid words)	NO!	296 (25.5%)	281 (24.2%)
	no	121 (10.4%)	95 (8.2%)
	yes	149 (12.8%)	108 (9.3%)
	YES!	62 (5.3%)	48 (4.1%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N = 1160) = 3.92$, $p = .270$.

Q18: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from Cucuta and Bogota

No differences in response patterns were displayed in the city comparisons ($\chi^2(3, N = 1177) = 1.84$, $p = .610$, Table 5.47).

Table 5.47 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q18 of Participants from Cucuta and Bogota

		City	
		Cucuta	Bogota
Q18 (When I have a problem with another child I swear and say stupid words)	NO!	265 (22.5%)	327 (27.8%)
	no	93 (7.9%)	122 (10.4%)
	yes	113 (9.6%)	146 (12.4%)
	YES!	42 (3.6%)	69 (5.9%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N = 1177) = 1.84$, $p = .610$.

Q18: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from poor, middle and rich social strata

No significant differences emerged across social strata ($\chi^2(6, N = 1127) = 8.58$, $p = .200$, Table 5.48).

Table 5.48 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q18 of Participants from Poor (strata 1-2), Middle (strata 3-4) and Rich Social Strata (strata 5-6)

		Strata		
		poor	middle	rich
Q18 (When I have a problem with another child I swear and say stupid words)	NO!	280 (24.8%)	226 (20.1%)	63 (5.6%)
	no	80 (7.1%)	93 (8.3%)	28 (2.5%)
	yes	121 (10.7%)	97 (8.6%)	30 (2.7%)
	YES!	60 (5.3%)	40 (3.5%)	9 (0.8%)

Note. $\chi^2(6, N = 1127) = 8.58$, $p = .200$.

5.2.1.4.6. Question 21: Response frequency distribution and demographic comparisons

The wording for this question was “If a child teases me I usually cannot stop him or her unless I hit him.” Here, the general response pattern showed that 22.1% of the children chose one of the two agreeing response alternatives, hence responding ‘violently’, whereas 77.9% disagreed moderately or strongly providing a ‘peaceful’ answer type.

Q21: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between younger and older participants

There were significant differences across age (χ^2(3, N = 1110) = 150.45, p < .001, Table 5.49). Younger children were significantly more likely to report NO! (n = 409) than was expected by chance (n = 309.1), whereas older children were significantly more likely to report YES! (n = 72) than was expected by chance (n = 57.3).

Table 5.49 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Younger and Older Participants' Responses to Q21

		Age Groups	
		Younger	Older
Q21 (If a child teases me I usually cannot stop him	NO!	409 (36.8%)	207 (18.6%)
or her unless I hit him)	no	75 (6.8%)	175 (15.8%)
	yes	30 (2.7%)	99 (8.9%)
	YES!	43 (3.9%)	72 (6.5%)

Note. χ^2(3, N = 1110) = 150.45, p < .001.

Q21: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between male and female participants

Significantly different response patters were shown across gender (χ^2(3, N = 1160) = 43.34, p < .001, Table 5.50). Male participants were significantly more likely to report YES! to this question (n = 80) than was expected by chance (n = 65.0), while female participants were less likely to report YES! to this question (n = 40) than was expected by chance alone (n = 55.0).

Table 5.50 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Male and Female Participants' Reponses to Q21

		Gender	
		Male	Female
Q21 (If a child teases me I usually cannot stop him	NO!	298 (25.7%)	342 (29.5%)
or her unless I hit him)	no	149 (12.8%)	113 (9.7%)
	yes	101 (8.7%)	37 (3.2%)
	YES!	80 (6.9%)	40 (3.4%)

Note. χ^2(3, N = 1160) = 43.34, p < .001.

Q21: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from Cucuta and Bogota

No differences were found in response patterns across cities (χ^2(3, N = 1177) = 5.27, *p* = .150, Table 5.51).

Table 5.51 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q21 of Participants from Cucuta and Bogota

		City	
		Cucuta	Bogota
Q21 (If a child teases me I usually cannot stop him or her unless I hit him)	NO!	300 (25.5%)	350 (29.7%)
	no	108 (9.2%)	158 (13.4%)
	yes	61 (5.2%)	79 (6.7%)
	YES!	44 (3.7%)	77 (6.5%)

Note. χ^2(3, N = 1177) = 5.27, *p* = .150.

Q21: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from poor, middle and rich social strata

No significant differences were seen across strata (χ^2(6, N = 1127) = 11.13, *p* = .085, Table 5.52).

Table 5.52 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q21 of Participants from Poor (strata 1-2), Middle (strata 3-4) and Rich Social Strata (strata 5-6)

		Strata		
		poor	middle	rich
Q21 (If a child teases me I usually cannot stop him or her unless I hit him)	NO!	325 (28.8%)	230 (20.4%)	66 (5.9%)
	no	104 (9.2%)	116 (10.3%)	33 (2.9%)
	yes	62 (5.5%)	58 (5.1%)	16 (1.4%)
	YES!	50 (4.4%)	52 (4.6%)	15 (1.3%)

Note. χ^2(6, N = 1127) = 11.13, *p* = .085.

5.2.1.4.7. Question 37: Response frequency distribution and demographic comparisons

Question 37 stated "I get angry if a friend leaves me alone and goes with a new friend." Here, the general response pattern showed that 42.3% of the children chose one of the two agreeing response alternatives, hence responding 'violently', whereas 57.7% disagreed moderately or strongly providing a 'peaceful' answer type. Among the individually analysed questions Q37 showed the highest proportion of children answering 'violently', admitting angry feelings toward a friend in the situation described, a situation that constitutes a common conflict-trigger by the way.

Q37: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between younger and older participants

Significant differences were displayed for age group comparisons (χ^2(3, N = 1110) = 99.72, p < .001, Table 5.53). Younger children were significantly more likely to report NO! (n = 285) than was expected by chance alone (n = 210.3), whereas older participants were less likely to report NO! (n = 134) than was expected by chance (208.7).

Table 5.53 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Younger and Older Participants' Responses to Q37

		Age Groups	
		Younger	Older
Q37 (I get angry if a friend leaves me alone and goes with a new friend)	NO!	285 (25.7%)	134 (12.1%)
	no	89 (8.0%)	156 (14.1%)
	yes	65 (5.9%)	139 (12.5%)
	YES!	118 (10.6%)	124 (11.2%)

Note. χ^2(3, N = 1110) = 99.72, p < .001.

Q37: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between male and female participants

Male participants were more likely to report NO! (n = 254) to this question than was expected by chance (n = 233.9), whereas female participants were less likely to report NO! (n = 178) than expected by chance (n = 198.1), and females were more likely to report YES! (n = 145) than was expected by chance alone (n = 116; χ^2(3, N = 1160) = 24.46, p < .001, Table 5.54).

Table 5.54 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Male and Female Participants' Reponses to Q37

		Gender	
		Male	Female
Q37 (I get angry if a friend leaves me alone and goes with a new friend)	NO!	254 (21.9%)	178 (15.3%)
	no	159 (13.7%)	100 (8.6%)
	yes	107 (9.2%)	109 (9.4%)
	YES!	108 (9.3%)	145 (12.5%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N = 1160) = 24.46$, $p < .001$.

Q37: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from Cucuta and Bogota

No significant differences emerged on this question across cities ($\chi^2(3, N = 1177) = 4.95$, $p = .180$, Table 5.55).

Table 5.55 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q37 of Participants from Cucuta and Bogota

		City	
		Cucuta	Bogota
Q37 (I get angry if a friend leaves me alone and goes with a new friend)	NO!	199 (16.9%)	239 (20.3%)
	no	114 (9.7%)	150 (12.7%)
	yes	102 (8.7%)	115 (9.8%)
	YES!	98 (8.3%)	160 (13.6%)

Note. $\chi^2(3, N = 1177) = 4.95$, $p = .180$.

Q37: Comparisons of response frequency distribution between participants from poor, middle and rich social strata

There were no significant differences in response patterns across social strata ($\chi^2(6, N = 1127) = 9.25$, $p = .160$, Table 5.56).

Table 5.56 Results of the Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Responses to Q37 of Participants from Poor (strata 1-2), Middle (strata 3-4) and Rich Social Strata (strata 5-6)

		Strata		
		poor	middle	rich
Q37 (I get angry if a friend leaves me	NO!	206 (18.3%)	170 (15.1%)	46 (4.1%)
alone and goes with a new friend)	no	107 (9.5%)	118 (10.5%)	30 (2.7%)
	yes	97 (8.6%)	75 (6.7%)	30 (2.7%)
	YES!	131 (11.6%)	93 (8.3%)	24 (2.1%)

Note. $\chi^2(6, N = 1127) = 9.25$, $p = .160$.

Having presented the results from the quantitative study containing IPT and INS analysis based on transformed data from the focus groups, and the questionnaire-based data from factor analysis and individually studied questionnaire statements, the following section will now describe the outcome of the qualitative study with the thematic analysis.

5.2.2. QUALITATIVE RESULTS – FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The following section describes the results gathered during of the focus groups discussions with school children in Colombia. The sampling of participating children allowed representation of several demographic indicators: 1) ages 6-10 years (younger group) and ages 12-16 years (older group), 2) boys and girls, 3) poor, middle and rich social strata, and 4) geographic location: the cities of Cucuta and Bogota.

The aspect of 'giving voice to the children' is also taken into account here as the data handling requires a deep analysis and while constructing meaning through the thematic analysis the researcher aims to maintain a dynamic dialogue with the voices of the children. However the researcher is exposed to own biases which require reflexivity in order to be able to do the analysis in a dialogical manner. A key practical question that is helpful is to continually ask: What is the child really saying here? What does he/she mean in saying this? (To give voice to the children is discussed in greater length in section 5.1.1.2.2.)

5.2.2.1. Thematic Analysis of Focus Group Discussions

After careful reading of the transcripts of all discussions 262 citations that captured key tenets in the discussions were extracted. Citations were selected on the basis of content and no demographic parameters contributed the extraction procedure. The complete procedure from data awareness to initial coding to emerging of citations and continuing with coding until the emerging of subthemes, themes and an overarching theme is explained in section (5.1.1.2.4).

Five main themes were constructed from the underlying sub-themes: Dialogue in handling conflict, Forgiveness, Friendship, Handling emotions in conflict, and Negative emotions in conflict. Full list of codes, subthemes and themes with example citations is found in Appendix 10. These themes constitute the body of the qualitative results. Since the identification of the themes involves a hermeneutic process where citations are interpreted during the selection and theme construction process it is important to show here how each theme is understood. This representation of the results below also reflects the actual process of enriching the material through interpreting it. The interpretation at a deeper level of the significance of the themes themselves is described in the discussion chapter and the Pedagogical Insights chapter. In sum there are thus 2 levels of interpretation of the citations: Level 1 interpretation for selecting citations and constructing the themes, which is presented in the results section, and level 2 interpretation that entail the elucidation of the significance of the identified themes, which is subsequently developed the discussion section.

Themes and sub-themes were given definitions based on the content of the participants' reasoning expressed around these topics as reflected in the extracted citations. A central theme 'Friends are able to resolve conflicts' was identified based on the five themes. During the focus group sessions the themes did not appear in any pre-defined order and no common

pattern or sequence of topics shared between several focus groups was discerned. Therefore the order of themes described below does not reflect the order of appearance in the sessions. For clarity these results will be presented below in a strict 'top-down' order beginning with a theme and followed by cognate sub-themes and their codes. In addition example citations are provided to facilitate understanding of the construction of themes is underpinned by the children's testimonies.

5.2.2.2. Description of themes

5.2.2.2.1. Dialogue in Handling Conflict

The theme Dialogue in Handling Conflict was defined as follows: 'Dialogue is seen as the essential route to solve conflict, largely due to the conducive setting for exchange of forgiveness'. Three sub-themes underpinned this theme: 'Clarify problem', 'Roadblocks to talk' and 'Take responsibility'. Below follows a list of the codes contributing to each subtheme with a representative example citation for each code. Personal names in citations are from the dilemma narrative. In the citations 'N' with a number denotes a particular participant and is used when more than one participant contributes to a citation. 'I' denotes 'Investigator'.)

The sub-theme 'Clarify Problem' was defined as 'Verbally explain reason for conflict with expectation of mutual understanding (i.e. sad feelings or envy) with the intent to solve conflict' and the following codes (in italics) with corresponding citation examples were used to create these subthemes:

- *Talk about the problem* "N1:... let's say I have a friend who is called Barrios and he plays a lot... and because sometimes they choose him and sometimes I am chosen then yes it causes us to feel envy but we play anyway. I: When you say it causes us envy then how do you handle it? Not because he and I talk and we say we will play to goals and so and so and then we take turns" (CAH.Poor.Male.14yrs).
- *Share feelings* "N2: It's like expressing what the other felt when the other got in the team and that when he tells the other what he really felt then the other can understand and will know what to do" (V.Rich.Female.12yrs).
- *Understand the other* "N2: Anybody can experience envy my friend felt a lot of envy she told me and I tried to understand her but we learn to forgive because it was a long-time friendship" (EH.Rich.Female.14yrs).

Likewise, the sub-theme 'Roadblocks to talk' was defined as 'Phenomena that hinder initiation of dialogue or hinder dialogue to develop in an open and trusting mutual exchange (i.e. rejection, arrogance, fear, dishonesty). This sub-theme contained the codes:

- *Pride* "I: And you admit your mistakes? N5: Well sometimes you admit them sometimes not because one gets ... Sometimes yes sometimes not because sometimes one gets busy with other things and then forget and you are not interested in reflecting yes sometimes is our own pride ..." (MB.Poor.Female.14yrs).

- *Fear of opening up* “N5: Well often fear happens when we do not feel comfortable with that person when we need to talk and the feelings that exist towards that person” (EH.Rich.Female.15yrs).
- *One party doesn't care* “N1: He fell while playing soccer and it was an accident he stood up and then he did not want to be my friend and he said it and began to fight with me so I was going to say something and he would not listen to me” (MB.Poor.Male.7yrs).

Within the theme ‘Dialogue as a process for handling conflict’, the final sub-theme ‘Take responsibility’ was defined as ‘Responsibilities of the involved parties to make the dialogue effective for solving the conflict’. Here the following codes with example citations formed the underlying framework:

- *Initiate contact* “N1: When Julia get some spare time from the matches and the championships Julia could take a bit of time to talk to Alexandra and Alexandra can try to talk to Julia and you can apologize be friends again and say that they should not fight again because they are best friends since childhood” (EH.Rich.Female.9yrs).
- *Demonstrate respect* “N1: When talking one has to approach a person decently with good manners they must have a very clear point of view for if they are both offended both should maintain respect when clarifying things as they are” (CS.Middle.Male.12yrs).
- *Style and body language* “N4: And you stand face to face looking at the person and say I am sorry for doing this and that” (AB.Poor.Female.7yrs)

5.2.2.2.2. Forgiveness in Conflict

The theme ‘Forgiveness’ was defined as ‘Resolving the conflict by asking for forgiveness/ forgiving/ receiving forgiveness, whereby an agreement is reached to close the conflict. The friendship may or may not be restored to pre-conflict status.’ The following three sub-themes were identified: ‘Being genuine is important’, ‘Make things right’, and ‘Together again’.

The sub-theme ‘Being genuine is important’ was defined as ‘True forgiveness - given or received - involves deep convictions and transparency’ and was constructed using the following codes with example citations:

- *Forgiveness is born in the heart* "N4: It's as if they were friends and then forgive again and on and on (fighting) N5: That would not be a true forgiveness but forgiveness would be fake…Because when one asks for forgiveness has to be heartfelt and has to be real N4: it must be a heartfelt forgiveness" (F.Poor.Male.N4 & N5: 7yrs).
- *Admit mistake* “N1: They meet and look at each other then Juliana who has the basketball then says recognizes her mistake and says to Alexandra forgive me I admit my mistake and I feel sorry if you want we can continue to be friends, forgive me please forgive me and let's be back being friends” (V.Rich.Female.7yrs).

The sub-theme ‘Make things right’ was defined as ‘Forgiveness depends on awareness of who is transgressor and is often associated with awareness of attitude (choice to forget) or behavioural elements conducive of restoring and maintaining the relationship’ covered the codes:

- *Commitment to amend* "N1: But Alexandra says to Juliana and Juliana will have to answer Alexandra then Alexandra tells Juliana you have to say forgive me friend I will not do it again let us try to be together again and Juliana agrees I forgive you as a real friend and that is also what friendship is about" (CS.Poor.Female.8yrs).
- *Forget offense "*N3: Forget everything that happened before everything that was bad" (AB.Poor.Male.8yrs).
- *Who asks for forgiveness* "N3: Forgiving the mistake the other does to us for example to forgive when she insults me obviously it was a mistake then I forgive her" (AB.Poor.Female.8yrs).

The final sub-theme within the 'Forgiveness' theme was 'Together again' defined as 'Resolution of conflict leads to restoration of relationship with emotional release and relief'. This sub-theme rested on two isolated codes:

- *Forgiveness restores relationship* "N3: So it`s like I [was] reborn again to be reborn as a friend we agree to remain friends forever and I will never fight again" (CS.Poor.Male.8yrs).
- *Feelings related to forgiveness "*N1: [After receiving forgiveness] Relief means: Express feelings sharing with others feeling emotional and serene no worries nothing to think about life is good and fun" (CS.Poor.Female.8yrs).

5.2.2.2.3. Friendship

The dilemma describing a friendship domain invited numerous reflections on the friendship relationship as such, which were grouped under the 'Friendship' theme. This theme was thus defined: 'A special relationship between peers (usually of the same gender) characterized of shared activities, trust, confiding in each other. In the form of 'best friend' the relationship is strictly exclusive. Duration of relationship ranges from days to years, where unresolved conflicts may end friendship or downgrade 'best friend' status of the other party. The Friendship theme coordinated the two sub-themes 'Assets in friendship' and 'Difficulties in friendship'.

'Assets in friendship' sub-theme was defined as 'Added value appreciated by the individual through friendship including emotional satisfaction, trust or practical support from friend, which may prevent conflict or modulate conflict dynamics' and was built on the codes:

- *Support friend* N2: "A good friend is that accompany you in good times and in bad they always support and share with you" (CAH.Poor.Female.13yrs).
- *Prioritise friendship* N1: "If I would be Sebastian I would get him (friend) in the team or would make myself be suspended so that he would get in the team" (MB.Poor.Male.7yrs).
- *Trust* N2: "To be yourself with that person based on the trust one might share (V.Rich.Female.12yrs).
- *Trivial problem shouldn't separate friends* N3: "Well yes so that their friendship does not stop because ... they are friends and to fight for an almost a silly thing such as being chosen for a football team then …" (MB.Poor.Male.14yrs).

Complementing ‘Assets in friendship’ the other sub-theme ‘Difficulties in friendship’ was thus defined as: ‘Actions committed by one or both friends, or situations caused by outer factors (i.e. third party) that causes emotional turbulence and may threaten the friendship’

Here the following codes substantiated this sub-theme:

- *Friends are not always together* N3: “I think they have to support each other whatever happens and they also have to understand the reality of things that is because they are growing and are entering new stages in life and never never you know if you can share everything with either Juliana or Alexandra and they have to understand that and have a new opportunity” (V.Rich.Female.13yrs).
- *Frustration over separation* N1: “Well I am surprised that they chose Juliana because they should have chosen the other so that she wouldn't get angry chose the two of them so that she would not get angry and play basketball I didn’t like it” (MB.Poor.Female.7yrs).
- *Mixed feelings* N1: “I would be happy and a little resentful because I feel resentful because I could not get in I feel like anger towards me but I also feel sad because couldn`t get in and happy at the same time because my friend got in” (CS.Middle.Male.12yrs).

5.2.2.2.4. Negative Emotions in Conflict

The participants gave weight to the difficult emotions associated with conflicts, which merited the theme ‘Negative emotions in conflict’. From the participant input the following definition was created: ‘A wide range of emotions experienced of one or both friends that arise from a conflict between them and that may be mutual (i.e. both are envious) or asymmetrical (i.e. one is envious, whereas the other is sad because of the envy felt by the friend)’. The most salient emotions formed the sub-themes: ‘Envy’, ‘Inferiority’ and ‘Violent anger’.

Starting with ‘Envy’, this sub-theme was defined as ‘Feelings of frustration because one's friend is more successful than oneself; this may include wishing bad things for friend’. The following cognate codes with example citations add further detail to this sub-theme:

- *Feelings related to envy* “I: Let's see let's think for a moment, close your eyes, when I feel envy what do I feel? N1: It’s like anger
  I: Anger what else? N4: Fight, fury N2: Cursing N3: Hitting N4: Offense
  I: Hitting when one is envious one thinks in hitting? N2: I scratch him N5: Also one sins” (F.Poor.Male.N1, N2, N4, N5:7yrs; N3:8yrs).
- *Effects of envy on the friendship* N2: “Well Alex has rancour for not having made it to the games at school and that is what separates them the envy” (CS.Middle.Male.13yrs).
- *Wanting revenge* N5: *“*That she wants to be in but she wants the other to go or that something bad happens to Juliana” (F.Poor.Female.10yrs).

The sub-theme ‘Inferiority’ in turn was understood as ‘Negative emotions and perspectives about oneself caused by unfavourable outcome of an important event or struggles in a relationship’;

- *Exclusion causes inferiority* N3: “Most people don't like to be excluded (from team) but prefer to feel equal or better than others” (V.Rich.Male.13yrs).
- *Struggling because the other is better* "N2: My friend is good at doing her homework I: would you like to be like her? N2: Yes I: And you're jealous that she is very good at doing her homework and you don’t? N2: No I: What do you feel? N2: Sometimes I get angry (MB.Poor.Female.8yrs).
  Finally ‘Violent anger’ understood as ‘Verbal or physical acts of violence as a result of fits of rage’.
- *Verbal aggression* N1: “It was for the same reason because I had won…(he)… said hear me you frog you're stupid you are a crack” (EH.Rich.Male.13yrs).
- *Physical aggression* N3: “Because when he gets angry … gets fury come here do you want to see this? N3: And punches him in the face come friend let's play and he comes and close your eyes ...have it (friend gets punch)" (F.Poor.Male.8yrs).
- *Try talking - punch otherwise* N1: When a schoolmate is disturbing me I solve the problem by punching him I try to speak but if he doesn’t listen then I release my anger punching him he deserved it (MB.Poor.Male.13yrs).

5.2.2.2.5. Handling Emotions in Conflict

Topically related to the discussions on emotions was how to handle difficult emotions in different ways. The resulting theme ‘Handling emotions in conflict’ was defined as: ‘Strategies to suppress negative emotions and expressions thereof resulting from a disappointment in relation to the friend (i.e. in terms of friend's success). Can be in association with steering emotions towards motivating own improvement. Motivation for handling negative emotions may include general valuing relationship and/or avoiding showing feelings’. The supporting sub-themes were ‘Managing defeat’, ‘Improve myself’, and ‘Restrain frustration’, defined as ‘Suppression and hiding of frustration and other negative emotions’.

The first sub-theme ‘Managing defeat’ defined as ‘Rational acceptance of friend being better or more successful in an area than oneself, and in some cases even sharing friend's joy’ was underpinned by the following two codes with citation examples:

- *Be happy about friend's abilities* N3: “The problem is that both wanted to join the team but not possible two well it was possible but Juliana was chosen because she plays a bit more basketball, then what I understood is that when you have a best friend you do not have to get angry you have to be happy about it and congratulate her” (F.Poor.Female.8yrs).
- *Accept defeat* N5: “I don't know I accept it you win or lose” (V.Rich.Female.12yrs).

Often the ambition to progress was expressed in situations of defeat and here the sub-theme 'Improve myself' defined as 'Letting friend's success (or envy thereof) motivate efforts to improve the ability in question' captured these aspects via the codes:

- *I am also good* N2 "Well to avoid jealousy, you have to make an effort, if one is jealous we should not get angry rather you have to practice you have to focus more on the football so that you too can play even better than Sebastian instead of fighting and arguing" (EH.Rich.Male.9).
- *Ask friend to teach me* N1: "I would ask him to teach me so that in the future we can enjoy together" (CAH.Poor.Male.14yrs).
- *Find something else to do* N2 "I would look for other options as I said get myself in another sport" (V.Rich.Male.12yrs).

The emotional struggle experienced in situations of losing or being lesser was however often acknowledged by the participants. Here, a common strategy was to control disappointment, which is highlighted in the sub-theme 'Restrain frustration' defined as 'Suppression and hiding of frustration and other negative emotions'. These codes indicate the origin of this sub-theme:

- *Don't let the other notice* N1: "No that's a lie at least a little bit but one feels envy, but one tries not to show it, and do not let envy go over everything and tell her to teach you" (AB.Poor.Female.13yrs).
- *Don't get angry* N3 "Anger does not let you not have fun and you do not think" (EH.Rich.Male.10yrs).
- *Calm down* N2 "Dialogue. In moment of anger and envy nobody speaks. Better wait till both are calm. One has to give first step to come near. Perhaps more anger comes up" (AB.Poor.Female.14yrs).

5.2.2.2.6. Thematic Structure and Suggested Overarching Theme

Thus the following main themes have been identified and briefly described capturing the points of gravity observed in the focus group material:

A. Dialogue in handling conflict
B. Forgiveness in conflict
C. Friendship
D. Handling emotions in conflict
E. Negative emotions in conflict

The five themes thus form five foci in the dilemma discussions on the conflict scenario between best friends used to probe children's reasoning and experience from conflict in the peer-peer context at school. These themes have been graphically represented together with their Supporting sub-themes in the Thematic Diagram (Diagram 5.5 below).

Diagram 5.5: Themes Identified in Focus Group Discussions

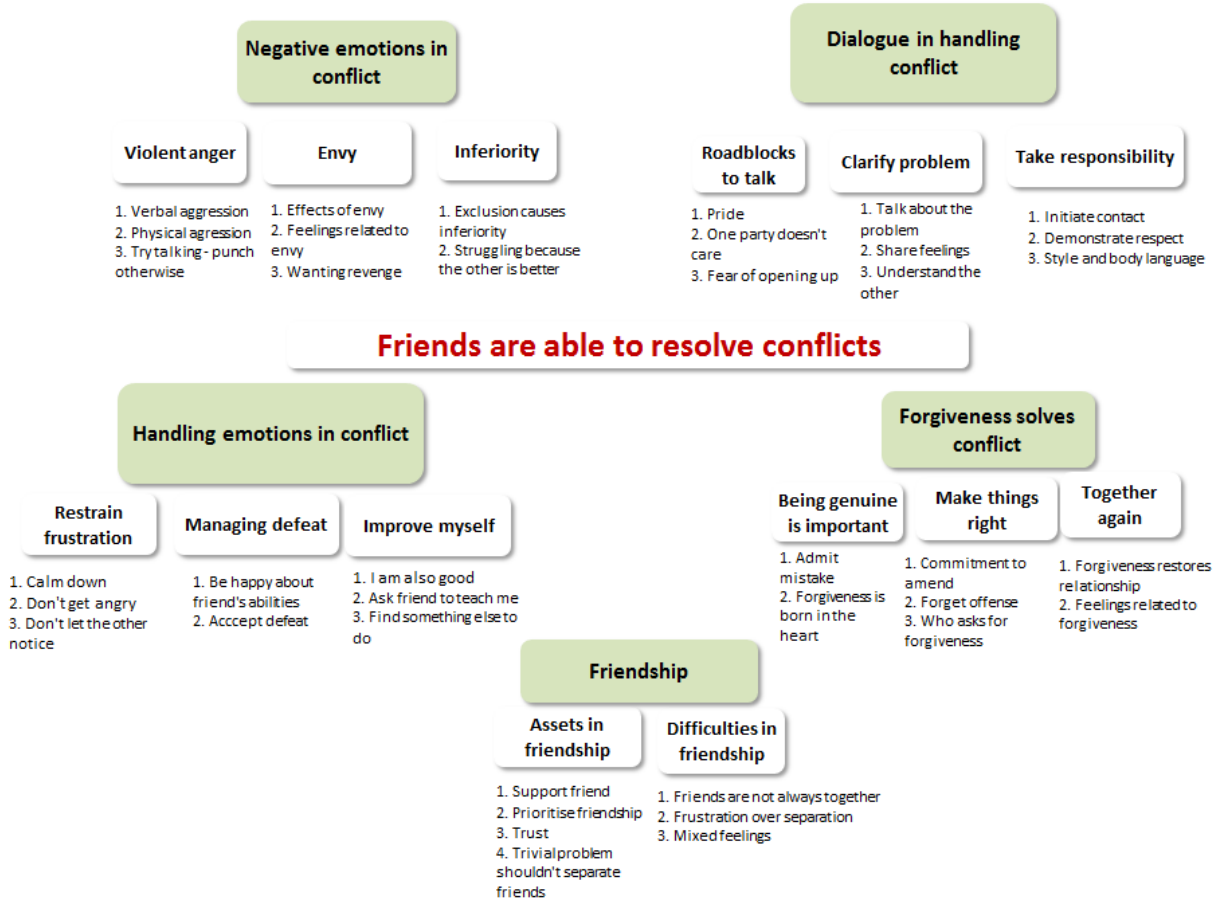


Diagram 5.5: The thematic analysis of the focus group input resulted in construction of the main theme 'Children should be able to resolve conflicts' built on the five themes 'Negative emotions in conflict', 'Dialogue in handling conflict', 'Handling emotions in conflict', 'Forgiveness solves conflict' and 'Friendship'.

These thematic foci highlight characteristics of friendship relations, best-friend relations in particular, and how conflicts in this social configuration is experienced, handled and in many cases solved. Friendships are enriching but are exposed to challenges that causes difficult emotions that can be handled preventively or through dialogue with the other party/friend. The friendship quality of the relationship facilitates this interaction. In the dialogue exchange the ultimate resolution of conflict appears to normally take place through forgiveness, motivated by a desire to restore a relationship to pre-conflict status. As seen in diagram 5.5 a main theme has been derived from the individual themes that functionally coordinate these: Friends should be able to solve conflicts. This overarching theme reflected the essence of the *reasoning* expressed in focus groups discussions, namely 'Friends should be able to resolve conflicts'. Some of the participants' descriptions of their own *behaviour* did however not always match the conclusion captured in this overarching theme.

I sum, the thematic diagram shows a representation of the data gathered from the participant's reflections concerning the dilemma conflict within the friendship domain leading

us to conclude that 'Friends should able to solve conflicts' indicating the children's understanding of an important functionality of friendship. Further functional relationships between the themes will be explored in the discussion section.

5.2.3. LIMITATIONS OF THIS INVESTIGATION

The 24 focus group sessions of this study provided a face to face setting which enabled registering important insights shared by the participating children concerning their emotions and thoughts about conflict between friends. Moreover the focus group method was useful and suitable in combination with the questionnaire complementing and strengthening the empirical study approach. In this section the methodological limitations of conducting focus group sessions and carrying out the questionnaire part of the study will be discussed.

5.2.3.1. Questionnaire Limitations

The limitations of the quantitative questionnaire approach are well known. Whilst large amounts of information can be collected from a large number of people in a short period of time and in a relatively cost effective way, and though preferences can be detected through multiple choice designs, the justifications and explanations of the participants' choices are often difficult to capture with questionnaires. In the current study the questionnaire was designed to assess the children's tendency towards peace and violence by the use of competencies to solve conflicts in the friendship domain, school and home.

Another methodological limitation concerns that fact that for the responders who answered 40 questions during 45-60 minutes the opportunities for deeper reflection interacting with others and making meaning were not available. It is therefore plausible that some children responded 'superficially' as making new realisations require more time and more interactions with others. Although the responses to questions provide some evidence of the students' actual behaviour in specific situations it fails to show whether violent tendencies are due to of social competency deficits or reluctance to adhere to socially accepted norms for behaviour. To penetrate these aspects further focus group sessions would be needed complemented with deep interviews with individual children.

In the focus groups setting follow-up questions by the investigator may reveal more about the child's reasoning behind a statement just provided. In contrast there is no way to tell how truthfully or thoughtfully a questionnaire responder has answered. Moreover, participants may be forgetful or not appropriately considering the full context of the situation depicted in a question. Accordingly responders may understand a question differently and therefore answer based on their own interpretation of the statement. For example, when one child ticks the box 'strongly agreeing' in response to a questionnaire statement of the current study it may reflect a stance qualitatively and quantitatively different to that of another child who has ticked the same box for the same question. Consequently an important methodological limitation is that there are interpersonal nuance differences that questionnaires are blind to.

Going back one step, it is here also acknowledged the limitation of not performing a pre-defined randomization procedure for inclusion of participating children. From a strict statistical perspective the sampling method of the current precludes any attempts to generalize the results. Though generalization was not the main goal for the quantitative study a proper randomization procedure would have increased rigor in the processing and interpretation of the data.

Moreover, another advantage attributed the questionnaire approach is that the data gathering does not necessarily need to be carried out by the researcher but by any number of people without severely compromising validity and reliability. This was however not completely true for the current investigation. Various teachers helped administering the questionnaire filling sessions, which were not monitored by the investigator. There was hence no opportunity to ensure a standardized procedure, despite instructions given to the teachers beforehand, leaving the door open for the teachers to influence the sessions in different ways. An exceptional case may illustrate this point. At one school the teachers overseeing the questionnaire session interrupted the session ahead of time not giving the about 40 children the opportunity to respond to all questions. This was discovered afterwards and these questionnaires were therefore not included in the subsequent analyses. Better instructions, more investments in teachers' buy-in, more study monitors to safeguard proper conduct of questionnaire sessions are examples of practical improvements to consider. From the perspective of the individual questionnaire responder, pre-assessments could have been made to determine optimal duration of the sessions for children of different literacy levels. Younger children could have been given more time than older for responding to the 40 questions for instance. Thus a potential limitation is also found in not knowing if all children had had the opportunity to reflect sufficiently to provide as truthful answers as possible.

Finally, in the current study the children only responded to the questionnaire once, which of course constitutes a limitation from a reliability perspective. Further analyses could compare how individual children answered similar questions over time to assess the consistency of the response patterns of the children.

5.2.3.2. Focus Group Limitations

Beginning with the role of the investigator here functioning as moderator, Vaughn et al. point out that biases of the moderator during the intervention, soft data and the difficulties to achieve generalisation are common criticism to focus groups (1996). For this study a complication of the above mentioned aspects is the role of the researcher who wrestles with own biases not only during the focus groups interview but also during the subsequent analytical phase.

A limitation experienced a focus group whose members displayed considerable timidity and were reluctant partake actively sharing their thoughts. These participants were young children from very poor backgrounds. They were apparently neither used to be listened to, nor to ventilate their views, and also seemed somewhat inhibited when interacting with adults. Fear

of disapproval could have negatively affected these particular children in the focus group sessions resulting in their views being less well captured than those of other children. Having two sessions with the same constellation of children, where the first session would be a pilot discussion for the children to acquaint themselves with the methodology, followed by a second discussion addressing the actual research topic could be a way to help the children voice their views.

A potential problem in the area of reduced engagement is related to the way children perceive one another, in particular when there are different ages represented. Vaughn et al. (1996) argue that homogenous group settings do contribute to more effective focus groups. The categorization of 6 – 10 year old children of younger group and the 12-15 years old children of the older group still allowed for some spread within a focus group. Some groups had for example one child of 6 years and two children 7 and the other 8 years old, coming from different classes and even from different grades. It was observed in the group mentioned above that the 6 years old child initially appeared timid and somewhat restricted in expressing opinions. Whether this child would have shared more openly form start in an even more homogenous group is here difficult to tell for sure, but seems nevertheless very likely that it would have been the case.

At the other end of the spectrum one found children who by showing excessive levels of engagement constituted a limitation of the methodology by negatively impacting the dynamics of the focus group interactions. The imbalances in group dynamics could have potentially compromised the group input quality. In most of the groups there were one or two individuals who tended to occupy a disproportionately large space in the sessions eagerly wanting to express their opinion more often than the others. This pattern was seen in both groups of younger as well as of older children. There were also cases in which a child could display tendencies to wanting to impose his or her view or presume that his or her idea carried greater weight than those voiced by his or her peers.

Overrepresentation of one child's input at the expense of the others is not only seen in sharing or trying to impose opinions. In one focus group there was only one 12 year old girl and the others were 14 years old. Interestingly it was the youngest girl who dominated the conversation by providing an extensive discourse concerning a particular relational problem with her best friend. It was likely a long desired opportunity for this girl to unburden herself. It is doubtful from an objectivity point of view that it was the best decision to let her finish her story instead of letting the other group participants take more time for sharing their own experiences. Obviously a concern that came out of this situation is how to handle the data gathered from this focus group with such unrepresentative outcome of the discussion.

Despite the investigator's attempts to moderate the focus group discussions it was not possible to ensure equal attention and space to all children in light of the challenges in group dynamics mentioned above. This limitation has likely skewed the data set in some instances, negatively affecting reliability in terms of reducing comparability of otherwise

demographically similar focus groups. To have the opportunity to meet the children in an informal setting before the focus group session could have helped the investigator to have an idea of the group's characteristics and the type of moderation that would be required for optimizing data retrieval.

The focus group sessions was conducted once with one hour duration for each group which is not enough for the researcher to observe consistency of the data collected and verify its reliability. It would have been better if the focus group discussion had been done with the same children in recurring sessions over time. This procedure could have given indications on intra-group inter-session variability.

The procedure to build themes from the focus group children's testimonies also suffers from limitations and challenges. Subjectivity on part of the investigator will affect each hermeneutic step from selection of citations, attachment of codes, to building of sub-themes and themes. During the thematic analysis the aspect of giving a voice to the children in the focus groups was central and this is exactly what was challenging in this analytical phase - to intentionally focus the children analytically. This requires considering the children's voices in a dynamic dialogue situated in a context of the adult investigator interacting with the children's testimonies. Avoiding to analyse the children's voices, which holistically are life expressed in words, in a simplistic and even patronizing manner and at the same time analytically construct themes was a very difficult challenge. Lessons learnt include the awareness gained concerning the importance for the investigator to excercise reflexivity throughout the research process.

This study was carried out by one investigator only and this fact could have affected reliability and the same applies for the transformation of qualitative data, the citations, to quantitized levels of IPT and INS where inter-rater reliability could not be assessed.

It is also important to keep in mind that the INS and IPT scoring was done on focus group data which mainly revolved around conflicts within the friendship domain. On the other hand, the questionnaire statements on conflicts would be associated by the children primarily with non-friend relations or even enmities (except for instance questions Q15 and Q19). Therefore statements from the focus groups on friend-friend interactions are likely to display higher levels of perspective taking ability where an important relationship is at stake than responses to questionnaire questions relating to adversaries. Moreover, the IPT and INS analyses of the citations probed for perspective taking which only very indirectly relates to peacefulness as such.

Although not a formal limitation, it could still be worth relating the incidence where one focus group of older girls from poor neighbourhoods complained about being hungry before starting the focus group session held in the morning as they did not have means to have breakfast at home before coming to school. This problem had to be practically solved before commencing the session, which turned out to be a particularly good discussion. To be aware of these

challenges is particularly important when researching socio-economically underprivileged communities.

With these notions on the limitations of the research approaches used in the current study rounding off the empirical chapter, the following chapter will present a discussion on the results described.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

6. DISCUSSION

Aiming to examine the findings of this investigation the results will be here discussed. While striving to remain faithful to the participating children's contributions by maintaining a reflexive attitude it is here intended to draw relevant insights that address the current research question.

As described in the Methodology chapter the overarching research questions was the following: 'How do children think and feel about conflict within the friendship domain using a peace education framework?'

The question mentioned above was compartmentalized into to three main questions:

A. How do children think and feel about conflict within the friendship domain using a peace education framework?
B. What levels of interpersonal perspective taking (IPT) and interpersonal negotiation strategies (INS) do the children reflect and are there demographic differences for these two parameters that illustrate peace or violent tendencies?
C. Are there demographic differences in regards to children's attitudes, behaviour and experiences that show peaceful/violent tendencies when having conflicts within the friendship, school and family domain?

The results from the empirical study are derived from three sources: qualitative thematic analysis of children's testimonies during the focus group sessions, focus group input transformed to quantitative data using IPT and INS scoring, and finally quantitative data derived from questionnaire responses processed through factor and frequency distribution analyses. In this discussion chapter the qualitative and quantitative data will be considered separately, followed by a convergent discussion including the identification of complementary insights, similarities and differences derived from the qualitative and quantitative data sets combined.

6.1. QUANTITATIVE STUDY

6.1.1. SUMMARY OF QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

In the section 6.1.1 the quantitative results from both the INS and IPT analyses as well as from the questionnaire study will be briefly summarized and related to the hypotheses. The results from the qualitative study related to research question A, the thematic analysis of focus group input, will be discussed in section 6.2.

Addressing the research question B mentioned above, the qualitative data from the focus group sessions comprising 262 selected citations were transformed into quantitative data.

Here, Selman's developmental index, the Interpersonal Perspective Taking (IPT) was used to score the citations to explore the developmental levels according to the children's input. Likewise, the responses in the focus groups to the question "What do you think is the problem in this dilemma?" were scored using Yeats et al. (1991) model for Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies. Both INS and IPT showed significantly higher scores for the older age group than for the younger. Recalling the hypotheses for the empirical study described in section 5.1.1, one can therefore here note that the hypotheses 1 and 5 suggesting higher developmental scoring for IPT and INS for older than for younger children in the focus groups were supported by the results. Moreover, IPT but not INS, displayed significant differences between poor and rich strata with higher IPT levels for the rich strata. Thus, hypothesis 3 was supported by the IPT results, whereas the INS data failed to confirm hypothesis 7 concerning a strata difference for INS. There were no significant differences for IPT or INS when comparing genders nor cities and the hypotheses 2 and 6, and 4 and 8 were therefore not supported by the results of this study.

The other study contributing to the quantitative investigation, the questionnaire survey, aimed to enquire about children's perceptions on violent and peaceful experiences, attitudes and behaviour (research question C). This was done using statements to which the children responded by moderately or strongly agreeing or disagreeing. The statements highlighted violence committed by the responding children or inflicted on the responders by other children or adults. There were also statements about solving conflicts, collaboration and family environment.

Questionnaire input from children was used to isolate two factors through exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses. Factor 1 identified was labelled 'Violence experience', reflecting that the statements belonging to this factor concern violence exposure from surrounding context on the children, and factor 2 was called 'Peace experience and behaviour' since the statements belonging to this factor dealt both with peaceful encounters with others as well as with own peaceful actions.

Connecting to the general assumption mentioned in section 5.1.1 that the participating children overall would show a violent response pattern being influence by the general violence laden socio-political situation in Colombia was not supported as judged by the mean scores for the two factors. The mean averages lied between 3 and 4, the two most peaceful response alternatives as represented using the Likert scale. This notion is exploratory as no comparison with other societies was included in the study design.

The Violence experience factor displayed significant differences in mean scores of questionnaire response alternatives resulting in more 'peaceful' response patterns for older than younger children. The positive correlation results between age and Violence experience factor corroborated these results. This outcome was in agreement with hypothesis 9, which stated that younger children would display higher levels of violence inclination and exposure than older children. The factor Peace experience on the other hand showed results opposite

to hypothesis 9 with younger participants answering more peacefully than older ones as measured by differences in Peace experience and behaviour factor means and a negative correlation between age and this factor.

The hypothesis 10 stated that males would show higher levels of violence inclination and exposure than age-matched females. Here the gender comparisons showed more peaceful responses from females than from males for both. The Violence experience factor and Peace experience and behaviour factor thus supporting hypothesis 10.

Potential socio-economic differences were addressed in hypothesis 11: “Children from less privileged socio-economic contexts would show higher levels of violence inclination and exposure than age-matched children from more privileged socio-economic contexts”. The comparisons failed however to show any significant differences between social strata for any of the two factors and hypothesis 3 were therefore not supported by the data.

The comparisons between Cucuta and Bogota showed for both Violence experience factor as well as for Peace experience and behaviour factor significantly more peaceful responses provided by the children from Cucuta than from Bogota. This outcome is opposite to what was stipulated in hypothesis 12 where responses from Bogota were held to be more peaceful than from Cucuta.

In addition seven individual questions on peaceful behaviour (nr. 15, 19) and violent behaviour (nr. 16, 17, 18, 21 and 37) were analysed for response frequencies comparing the same demographic groups as for the factors. For all seven statements more peaceful responses from younger children than older were registered, which is in disagreement with the hypothesis 9. Hypothesis 10 was supported by six out of the seven questions where females responded more peacefully than males. Females answered less peacefully than males on question 37, a question that probed for angry feelings when one is abandoned by a friend. A mixed results pattern for the seven questions was also found for the social strata comparisons. Here three questions showed differences between the three social strata levels, of which two aligned with the conjecture of hypothesis 11 that suggested more violent response pattern for children less privileged social context. One question however showed the opposite pattern with poorer children answering more peacefully contrary to hypothesis 11. Four questions failed to exhibit social strata related differences in any direction. Finally, the two questions that displayed differences between Bogota and Cucuta both showed more peaceful response patterns for children from Cucuta than for those from Bogota. This is an outcome contrary to the conjecture suggested in hypothesis 12, with Cucuta residence being associated with less peaceful responses.

With this summary of the results described in relation to the hypotheses raised the following section will penetrate the outcome of the empirical study interacting with previous reports published beginning with a discussion on the quantitative results and then on the qualitative thematic analysis.

6.1.2. IPT AND INS DISCUSSION

In the following section the data from the focus group sessions transformed into INS and IPT scores will be discussed in more detail in relation to demographic markers.

6.1.2.1. Interpersonal Perspective Taking (IPT)

6.1.2.1.1. IPT Age Comparisons

The differences in IPT levels between younger and older children supported Hypothesis 1 of this study as mentioned above. Moreover, the average score in the younger group of children (6-10 yrs) aligns with findings described by Selman's developmental theory (1980). In the current study the younger group reached an IPT score mean of 1.22, which corresponds to Selman's perspective taking level 1 'Differentiated and Subjective Perspective Taking' for ages 5-9 yrs. For the older children the IPT score mean reached 1.79, which however is lower than both Selman's level 2 'Self-reflective/Second-person and Reciprocal Perspective Taking' for the ages 7-12 yrs, as well as than level 3 'Self-reflective/Second-person and Reciprocal Perspective Taking' (ages 10-15). Despite the lower than expected IPT for older children in relation to Selman's model, the older children still scored significantly higher than the younger ones. Overall, these results suggest the age variable constitutes a developmental factor agreeing with Selman's theory: "In general, longitudinal and cross sectional analyses of the data gathered in both the initial study and the second assessment showed a progressive age-related development through childhood and preadolescence and provided no evidence of regression or of misordering in the developmental model" (Gurucharri & Selman 1982:925). Taken together the data obtained in the current investigation corroborates the concept of age constituting a central variable in the development of interpersonal understanding and interpersonal negotiation strategies in childhood and adolescence.

The reason for the older children's lower than expected IPT scoring according to Selman's scale must be sought in contextual factors. First, the socio-political situation with rampant political as well as interpersonal violence could here play a role in negatively modulating children's IPT progression. In Colombia interpersonal conflicts constitute a major reason for physical aggression and criminal acts among adults (INMLCF 2015)[11]. Others have shown that children in war zones and conflict laden areas tend to display increased levels of aggressive behaviour lower than age-matched children (Margolin & Gordis 2000, Osofsky 1995). This exposure to violence influence children's means to solve their problems which includes aggression and it is argued that aggression is resistant to change creating a generational cycle of violence and normally emerges early in life (Huesmann et al., 1984). Moreover, Selman has suggested that violent ecologies influence children leading to problematic social behaviour

[11] Instituto Nacional de Medicina Legal y ciencias forenses, Forensis 2015

(Selman & Schultz 1990). Further Brook et al. found a strong correlation between Colombian adolescents being victims of violence and becoming perpetrators themselves (2013:5). Thus, children's socialisation in violence contributes to continuation of violence in many cases. It could be said that the potential capacity to take perspective is normally present in the children participating in the focus groups however, children's fears, worries, lack of stimulation, aggressive contexts etc., may hinder and limit the child to develop and display an IPT concurring to their natural development and age.

The second contextual factor is the focus group setting itself. This was a new experience for the children and no child participated in more than one focus group session. Could this new experience negatively affect children's display of their IPT capacities? That is unlikely to be the case and the reason for this is suggested in the outcome of the evaluations provided by the children, described in the Pedagogical Insights chapter. Here the children confirmed both the cognitively as well as the emotionally stimulating effects the focus group discussions had exerted. It is therefore unlikely that the discussions themselves would have had a major inhibitory effect on their display of IPT abilities.

The younger children (6-10 yrs on average reached the IPT level 1, which is at par with the developmental level described by Selman. This is interesting since it suggests that the participating children at this age overall did not show a stunted IPT development, possibly indicating that contextual factors including unfavourable socio-political situation had not affected IPT negatively in a decisive way. How can one then explain that older participating children on average scored much less in relation to the nominal IPT scale than their younger peers, who are exposed to the same general socio-political situation as themselves? Would the younger children have received positive stimuli through compassionate schools environments and their caring families? Eisenberg and Herrenkohl suggest that the individual child's characteristics and inclination to withstand violent influences from the immediate context is could in part be explained by ecological contexts offering various types of support, for instance religious organisations, cultural groups or social services (2008), and one may add to this list also sports and music clubs. Either the younger children have received positive stimuli, that the older did not receive at that age, that have enabled the younger children to withstand anti-social trends, or the older children have accumulated more negative input over time that in turn have hampered their perspective taking development. Is there a threshold in IPT development that contextual factors make particularly difficult, causing a developmental curve that flattens out when children reach adolescence? The results of this exploratory study raise many new questions that require further studies.

6.1.2.1.2. IPT Gender Comparisons

Hypothesis 2 of the current study proposed that girls would display higher levels of IPT than age-matched boys, reflecting a more advanced overall psycho-emotional development for girls than for boys. The modest numerical difference of IPT average scores, 1.48 vs. 1.59 for boys and girls, respectively was not near statistical significance (p=.211). This finding is

however interesting. Boys and girls in the study sample apparently display similar perspective taking abilities from a quantitative standpoint. Associating perspective taking to empathy one may find support for the current enquiry in the studies carried by Maccoby and Jacklin who found that 'empathy' and the 'will to help others' exhibited gender similarities (1974). Nevertheless, Hoffman measured empathy as an emotive response to the others' sentimental condition, he also measured perspective taking and determined women were capable of demonstrating more empathy than men did (1977). Selman has noted qualitative differences between boys and girls: "There is a striking difference in the overall tone of the boys' and the girls' interactions that imply very different personal meanings in the interactions of the two dyads, even for negotiations diagnosed at the same level and orientation" (Selman 1990:52). The differences in 'peacefulness' between the genders described in this work could be related to such gender differences and still be compatible with similar IPT levels between boys and girls. Further, in a study involving boys and girls from 13 to 16 years Mestre et al. conclude that "girls scored higher than boys in their ability to stand in 'the other person's shoes' and also in the feelings towards a person in trouble or in need. Therefore, sex differences are not just found in the emotional realm of empathy but also in the capacity of understanding the other person's state and situation" (2009:82). These results suggest higher 'quantitative' IPT levels among girls than boys, which contrast the data of the current study. Mestre's et al. study included about 500 children and used a longitudinal study design, which may in part explain their detection of modest differences between the genders. Qualitative differences between boys' and girls' perspective taking, are not palpable through the scoring system used in this study, and would require in-depth analysis of the citations provided by the focus group participants complemented with individual interviews. Thus further studies are warranted to explore comparative qualitative gender differences that may have a bearing to peaceful or violent conflict handling.

In this regard the different profiles of boys and girls relationships are noteworthy. Here, Smith and Rose suggest a connection between qualitative characteristics of friendships and perspective taking abilities: "The current research considered the costs of caring in youths' friendships. Results indicated that girls did experience greater empathetic distress in friendships than did boys. In addition, the current research revealed that social perspective taking in friendships (i.e., the social–cognitive ability to infer and understand the friend's perspective) had adjustment trade-offs in that it predicted greater positive friendship quality but also greater empathetic distress in the friendship. Interestingly, the associations of social perspective taking with both positive friendship quality and empathetic distress were partially mediated by co-rumination or excessive discussion of problems. Applied implications of the findings that girls' greater social perspective taking and associated co-rumination contributed both to their greater positive friendship quality but also to greater costs of caring in the form of empathetic distress are discussed" (Smith & Rose 2011). It appears from the findings related above that adolescent girls more intensively process relational issues, which involves both emotional as well as cognitive aspects. Moreover, this deeper engagement in friendship would also expose girls more than boys to complex relational dilemmas that according to Selman

would stimulate developmental stage transition. Hence, it appears logical that this tendency among girls would favour more rapid interpersonal perspective taking than for boys. In terms of the Colombian context and culture it was assumed that girls would have exposed much greater capacity to take perspective than boys. The IPT results of the current study however do not support a decisive role of gender in perspective taking capacity as measured by IPT scoring.

6.1.2.1.3. IPT City Comparisons

The comparisons between IPT levels of citations from children in Bogota and Cucuta did not show any significant differences, only a modest numerical increase for Cucuta (1.59) in comparison to Bogota (1.50). The Hypothesis 4, assuming lower IPT levels for the children from Cucuta than Bogota due to the engrained violent social culture, was therefore not supported. The sample sizes precluded detailed subgroup comparisons between the cities and no inferences concerning for instance strata-matched subgroups can be made. Both cities have been ranked as very violent (Forensis 2015). Bogota being the capital of the country with 9 million inhabitants is a city that confronts its inhabitants with many complexities and challenges in terms of poverty, criminality and violence, also affecting children (for a general discussion on inner city violence impacting children see Michele Cooley-Strickland et al. 2009). Particularly the southern districts the city where most of the poor population live contain very dangerous areas and it is there where one of the schools participating in this study is located. Cucuta is a smaller city but located at the border with Venezuela which for some time has experiences economic crisis accompanied by fragmentation of infrastructure and governmental functions and services. Thus the geographic location contributes to the high levels of violence displayed in Cucuta. Indeed, Cucuta has been ranked one of the most violent cities in the world (El Espectador 2015). Despite the selection of schools in both cities there may be contextual factors that compromise representativeness of the samples. It can however be suggested that the city differences in 'peacefulness' observed in the some outputs of the quantitative results of the current study, with children from Cucuta responding more peacefully than their peers in Bogota, cannot be ascribed to differences in overall IPT levels.

6.1.2.1.4. IPT Social Strata Comparisons

In addition to age-related differences in IPT it was also observed that citations provided by children from rich strata showed significantly higher IPT mean score (1.81) than those provided by children from poor strata (1.35) ($p<0.001$). This outcome is in agreement with the Hypothesis 3. Here, directly comparing these differences with Selman's corpus is more difficult since Selman has conducted his investigation mainly among children at risk, coming from very

disadvantaged economic backgrounds and with dysfunctional families among other characteristics (1980, 1988).

Through these results the influence of environmental aspects is brought to the forefront. Evans provides a holistic description of the often unfavourable circumstances children growing up in poor ecologies: “Poor children confront widespread environmental inequities. Compared with their economically advantaged counterparts, they are exposed to more family turmoil, violence, separation from their families, instability, and chaotic households. Poor children experience less social support, and their parents are less responsive and more authoritarian. Low-income children are read to relatively infrequently, watch more TV, and have less access to books and computers...Predominantly low-income schools and day care are inferior. The accumulation of multiple environmental risks rather than singular risk exposure may be an especially pathogenic aspect of childhood poverty” (Evans 2004:77). If the environmental factors together constitute the main reason for poor children to display a developmentally lower level of IPT capacities, then this would suggest that the stage-wise progression of perspective taking abilities are indeed closely related to external factors, in addition to the growth and differentiation of endogenous neuro-biological factors that enable overall mental development. The environmental factors listed by Evans above suggest that children from poor circumstances enjoy less enriching conversations and interactions in general with adults, less supportive relational networks at home, less high quality pedagogies at school, and less exposure to differentiated messages in media, than their richer peers. It is difficult to avoid the conjecture that the relative lack of these stimulating factors would contribute to the differences in IPT observed between citations from children in rich and poor neighbourhoods. If so then the duration of each IPT stage would take longer time to complete. It is conceivable that the unfavourable environmental factors exert a more inhibitory effect for older than for younger children. It is here suggested that adolescents in socially deprived situations would be less likely than their richer peers to encounter interpersonal situations of the complexity required to induce crises leading to transitions toward the highest IPT stages. The very act of in-depth reasoning is presumably less encouraged in poorer social settings.

In addition, and in agreement with Evans, it is likely that poor children were less used to extended conversations of the kind represented in the focus groups sessions than the rich children. Could this have impacted the children’s performance during the focus groups sessions? It was particularly evident in one of the focus groups, with children coming from very precarious contexts, that these children explained and argued using very simple lines of reasoning in comparison to their rich counterparts. Especially the use of language, shyness and caution to speak freely required encouragement and stimulation from the investigator/moderator so that the discussion could unfold through expression of children’s thoughts. Lawrence and Bennet have noted a similar behaviour difference among poor children: “Furthermore, shyness is related significantly to the socio-economic class of adolescents: a relatively higher percentage of shyness occurs among adolescents of lower

socio-economic class." (Lawrence & Bennett 1992:257). Further focus group sessions with the same poor children would shed light on this shyness aspect.

6.1.2.2. Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies (INS)

For the testing of the levels of interpersonal negotiation strategies (INS) 109 children were examined and for this testing Selman's theory and scoring system was used. The children's first response to the dilemma narrative was a response to the investigator's initial question "What is the problem here?" and was grouped to the 'Defining the problem' category of responses. This category comprises in Yeates' et al. (1991) model the first of four functional steps in a negotiation process. The steps are as follows: Defining the problem, Generating Alternative Strategies, Selecting and Implementing a Specific Strategy, and Evaluating Outcomes. The current investigation focused the first step involving assessing a dilemma and depending of the level of INS sophistication the child's understanding may range from mere physicalistic approaches to negotiation strategies relying on advanced third-person perspective taking. The INS model, in contrast to the IPT model, thus incorporates actions, which in turn are dependent, or at least partly dependent, on the perspective taking abilities attained by the child. As described in the INS model a child may possess an inclination to impose his or her will, which may frame the outworking of the child's behaviour throughout the progression from lower to higher levels. Similarly, a child may have a disposition to give in in negotiation situations, which then also generates distinct behavioural patterns in the different INS stages. Using the INS scored citations for demographic comparisons resulted in numerical differences between age groups, genders, strata and cities, but only the age group differences could be verified statistically.

6.1.2.2.1. INS Age Comparisons

The age group comparison of the INS scoring was based on the assumption formulated in Hypothesis 5 that older children would have developed more sophisticated interpersonal negotiation strategies as reflected by higher INS scores. The data corroborated this conjecture with younger focus group children scoring significantly less (1.60) than the older ones (2.06) indicating advancement of interpersonal negotiation strategies with age. These scores roughly correspond to Yeates' stages 1/2 'Unilateral/Reciprocal', and stage 2 'Reciprocal'. As shown in the data the younger children overall viewed the problem in terms of either own or other's needs: "Juliana is feeling bad". With this in mind the child expects an outcome involving either personal satisfaction or of the other (Yeats et al 1991). From the investigator's or teacher's perspective it is important to bear in mind that 'primitive' and self-centred strategies are not inherently morally wrong. Selman and Demorest explain: "[I]t must be stressed that low level strategies are not by definition immature or pathological. For young children they are expected. The descriptions of strategies at lower developmental levels are not intended pejoratively. Although these strategies include grabbing, submissiveness, and orders, all of

which may connote undesirable behaviour from the adult's standpoint, it is important to remember that they reflect structures that are part of normal development and are therefore age-appropriate for young children. Furthermore, and importantly, low-level strategies may be appropriate in certain contexts of negotiation" (Selman & Demorest 1984:302). These low-level negotiation strategies are likely to be possible among children from poor neighbourhood areas in this study as a defence mechanism for even greater and systematic aggression.

Attaining level 2 involves the new understanding of reciprocity and the ability to simultaneously coordinate several perspectives. Depending on overarching personal inclination these abilities in turn are used to either influence the other person or to consciously suppress own priorities to protect oneself. In general the older children did not reach level 3, Collaborative stage, which requires third-person perspective taking abilities to be fully operational. There were only a few children who displayed this advanced level. Hallmarks of this level include ambition to understand the self and the other and expecting an outcome that is beneficial for both parties. The following participant illustrates components of this INS level: "I think that the problem is that they couldn't be together because one had often trainings and homework and the other would be left alone because didn't have anyone to play with then that is what I think the problem was". These results resonate with earlier published reports. For instance, Selman has stated "With respect to specific issues, older adolescents define the problem between protagonist and significant other in a more reciprocal and normative manner, justify their negotiation strategies with an emphasis on the context of the relationship to a greater extent, and express more complex feelings as a result of their strategies than younger adolescents do in these hypothetical negotiation dilemmas. However, the level of action taken does not mature as rapidly in adolescence: Although many adolescents reach the level of reciprocal actions (Level 2), few of them articulate verbal collaboration with others in interpersonal negotiations (Level 3)" (1986: 456). At the higher levels 2 and 3 it starts to make sense for children to discuss alternative routes to use in a negotiation. From negotiation research insights can be drawn concerning distributive strategies focusing self-interest only i.e. the well-known concepts of 'zero sum game', or 'fixed pie' (Rubin 1994). These concepts are informative for teachers, peace educators and caregivers striving to introduce to children alternative integrative negotiation strategies to assist the child improving their social interactions.

6.1.2.2.2. INS Gender Comparisons

The girls participating in the focus group discussions numerically reached higher average INS score than the boys, 1.91 vs. 1.73, but this suggestive difference failed to reach statistical significance (p=0.173). The Hypothesis 6 was therefore not supported. These results are however in alignment with gender comparisons of adolescent INS levels reported by Schultz and Selman where no differences between boys and girls were found (1989). The more violence oriented input provided by boys than by girls is further discussed in the qualitative

part of this study. One is however not in a position to claim that these violence related differences mainly originate from different INS levels between the genders. Where violence reflects INS levels lower than nominal perspective taking abilities among boys it is here suggested this could relate to 'underperformance' by the children. Yeates et al. discuss these gender differences in light of their own INS research: "This pattern … suggests that girls are more likely to resolve social conflict in a manner consistent with their social-cognitive capacities, whereas boys often act in ways that fall below those capacities (Yeates et al., 1991:399). In agreement with Yeates et al. one would here favour the interpretation that in addition to Selman-type stage progression of INS based on developmental differentiation of perspective taking, there appear to be factors associated with socialization patterns that may accentuate gender differences in INS levels, although the underlying perspective taking abilities measured by for instance IPT may show less differences. In an INS study Selman et al., found that young females performed at higher level on social awareness and skills than young males, a difference that became discernible at second grade. He states that "the study also confirms the developmental nature of INS suggests that adolescent girls negotiate at a higher level on average than adolescent boys do, and shows that IQ has a moderate relation with INS (i.e., that intelligence contributes to, but does not explain, variation in INS level)" (1986:458). With this body of data from previous studies one may suggest that the suggestive difference between boys and girls in INS levels, though not formally confirmed statistically, still likely point in the expected direction.

6.1.2.2.3. INS City Comparisons

As for IPT no significant difference between the two cities was found and the Hypothesis 8 was thereby not corroborated. The suggestive trend in Cucuta's 'favour' was in the opposite direction of that seen for IPT. Since the perspective taking capacity is reflected in both the IPT and INS scoring a pronounced difference between the cities in either one of IPT and INS, but not the other, was is therefore hardly conceivable. INS captures perspective taking capacity in a specific situation, the negotiation process, where perspective taking abilities have a pivotal role to play and in many cases determines the outcome of the negotiation. Moreover, in the current study only the first step in the negotiation was investigated based on the children's responses to the question "What is the problem here?". This may seem a rather restricted approach to probe for INS levels, but responding to the question "What is the problem here?" actually requires an assessment of the entire situation and the perspectives of both characters involved depicted in the dilemma narrative. Here the city affiliation did not show a clear relation to the INS levels. As for IPT specific aspects residing in the various settings need to be looked into to gain further insights into INS development among the young. Concerning contextual factors the corresponding discussion for IPT (section 6.1.2.1.3) is here referred to.

6.1.2.2.4. INS Social Strata Comparisons

The suggestive numerical difference between children from poor and rich strata failed to reach statistical significance does therefore not formally support the Hypothesis 7. Reasons for this could include the relatively small and unequal sample sizes for the rich and poor demographic subgroups. A trend indicating higher INS levels for children from rich strata than for children from poor strata would fit the results obtained for IPT, if corroborated statistically through for instance a larger sample. If one would include citations others than those answering the first question "What do you think is the problem here?" the picture becomes might become even clearer. When assessing both quantitative as well as qualitative data sets of the current study together the overall impression is that the rich children surpassed their poorer peers in terms of cognitive analysis of the dilemma and how to go about solving the relational issue at hand in the dilemma narrative.

For instance in the focus groups the rich children overall showed more advanced skills than the poor children in verbal communication which in turn belongs to the negotiation repertoire of abilities. Interpreting the results together it is here suggested that as shown for IPT the environment surrounding the children from rich strata appears more conducive than that of poorer children of fostering perspective taking skills and verbal skills that are applicable to negotiation situations occurring in friendship relations. Bradley and Corwyn state that families of high socio-economic status (SES) may afford to provide their children diversity of goods, education, parental care, and social relations, which in turn contribute to benefit their children contrary to many low SES parents whose children are deprived of basic resources and experiences: "Children who live in extreme poverty or who live below the poverty line for multiple years appear, all other things being equal, to suffer the worst outcomes" (1997). Moreover, in a study reported by Eisenberg et al., low SES children showed lower overall level of prosocial moral reasoning than high SES children. The authors argued that the findings might be partly influenced by the fact that children enrolled in the study came from both private and public schools and that the quality of the education is higher in the private system (2001). Similarly in the current study the majority of the children coming from public schools belonged to the lower SES (poor strata) category, which means the quality of education they receive is lower than for their privately schooled peers. Another aspect is the fact that high SES parents are more likely to be engaged in promoting their children's development of socio-cognitive and academic competencies than the parents from lower SES (Shonkoff & Phillips: 2000). Further studies could probe for the steps three to four in the INS model using alternative dilemma scenarios to obtain a more complete understanding of the INS levels of children and relation to different demographic indicators.

In sum the results displayed by the INS and IPT demonstrated confirmation of the theory in relation to age and level. It is important to keep in mind that INS in contrast to IPT is much more contextually influenced and steered by will than IPT (Selman 1986) and therefore is more difficult to correlate with demographic factors like age, gender and social situation, although

some studies have reported age-INS correlations (i.e. Adalbjamardottir & Selman, 1989). This propensity of INS could explain why only IPT showed a significant strata difference. What appears in the current results is however an age dependence of both IPT as well as INS.

Coming this far in the analysis one may ask what this exploratory study using IPT and INS scoring and results actually reveal about Colombian children's ability to take perspective and use of interpersonal negotiation strategies that permit the handling of conflicts positively? One key message from the data is that the participating children showed the capacity to reason, to take into account the views of the significant other, and in principle desired to act according to insights gained through perspective taking. From an interventional perspective one important question is how to help children use their innate capabilities in various conflictive and challenging situations in daily life.

6.1.3. QUESTIONNAIRE DISCUSSION

The current research explored children's reasoning and behaviour in relation to conflict in the friendship domain. The following section will examine the outcome of the questionnaire study comprising the quantitative part of the investigation. Here, two factors bundling several questions were identified. In addition, individually selected questions were analysed using frequency distribution of responses between the four response alternatives YES! yes, no, and NO! For both the factors as well for the individual questions the emphasis was then given to comparisons between demographic categories including age groups, genders, social strata and city residence. The following section is dedicated to the discussion of these results.

6.1.3.1. Methodological aspects

The use of the Likert scale for the questionnaire adhered to common practice in sociological research, belonging to the 'canonical' approaches to quantify input to questionnaires and was appropriate for the factor analysis.

For the current study, the sample size of 1178 children aided the exploratory factor analysis with subsequent confirmatory factor analysis. The factor analysis combined with comparisons of the major groups of participants lent itself to illustrate the main research topic on how children experience and handle conflict in the friendship domain. The current study reflects an overall exploratory scientific pursuit without formally testing a hypothesis.

Complementing the factor analysis approach a demographic analyses of seven selected individual questions, in which comparisons of the distribution of response frequencies for the four answer alternatives was pursued using Chi-square statistics. In this way deviations from the expected distribution of responses could be compared between the groups.

6.1.3.2. Factor Analysis

The questionnaire was designed to capture experience, attitudes and behaviour concerning both violence as well as 'interpersonal peace'. In the exploratory factor analysis of the questionnaire responses using the Likert scoring numbers two factors were isolated counting for 44.41% of the total variance. The suggested two-factor model captures two main aspects Violence Experience (Factor 1), and Peace Experience and Behaviour (Factor 2).

6.1.3.2.1. Factor 1: Violence Experience

Factor 1 incorporates five questions that exclusively deal with perceived experience of violence inflicted on the child.

Q1. Other children insult me or threaten me

Q4. Other children beat me

Q12. Other schoolmates bully me often

Q2. Other adults insult me or threaten me

Q5. Other adults beat me

Concerning the content of factor one it is noted that statements on aggression experienced from other children (Q1, Q4 and Q12) and adults (Q2 and Q5) are included. Moreover, the violence experience is both verbal (Q1 and Q2) as well as physical (Q4 and Q5) according the formulation of the questions. The question Q12 involved bullying [*matonear* in Spanish] from peers and can signify verbal as well as physical abuse. From these results it is here suggested that the more likely a child experienced aggression from other children they were also more likely to experience aggression from adults. Likewise, the more likely the children experienced verbal aggression the more likely they experienced physical aggression. No questions associated to the violence-related factor 1 dealt with the child's own behaviour and attitudes and in this respect the name 'violence experience' for this factor reflects the content of the questions. Possibly the pattern of responses on own behaviour and attitudes concerning violence in different forms did not display the level of coherence as the questions on violence experience and this could explain why violent behaviour and violent attitude questions did not load to factor 1.

6.1.3.2.2. Factor 2: Peace Experience and Behaviour

The Factor 2 was denoted 'Peace experience and behaviour' and had loadings from 6 questions that covered different settings and situations.

Q29. At home we speak about our problems and try to find a solution

Q31. My parents, brothers and sisters love me

Q32. I like to do group work with my classmates

Q34. I like to help other children

Q36. I say sorry if I had done something wrong to another child

Q39. I like to be at peace with my classmates

This group of questions represented both a peaceful family condition which is entirely experiential as reflected in Q29 and Q31. Peer-peer related peaceful interactions related to peaceful behaviour were reflected in Q32, Q34, Q36 and Q39. Consequently factor 2 is composed of two types of questions that displayed some degree of coherence in terms of response patterns from the participating children. The peer-peer related questions Q32, Q34, Q36 and Q39 were steered to the friendship domain or at least to interactions with other children to whom the responder had friendly interactions. Hence the questions belonging to factor 2 differ in context with factor 1 questions that have more affinity with non-friends or even enemies of the responding child.

Taking a closer look, one notes that Q32 (I like to do group work with my classmates), Q34 (I like to help other children) and Q39 (I like to be at peace with my classmates) reflect similar inclinations. Enjoying helping others would constitute a reasonable prerequisite for being keen on engaging in group work, where peaceful interactions appear to be an underlying condition.

The question Q29 dealing with talking within the family about how to solve problems connects via factor 2 with the experience of being loved and supported by the family expressed in Q31. It is conceivable that an open and constructive discussion climate at home goes with the child's experience of being loved. A more speculative notion would be to associate this Q29 and its emphasis on non-violent conflict handling at home with Q34 that probes inclination to apologize to other children after a having committed an offense. Could the loading of these two questions to the same factor suggest that there is a relationship –even a causal one – between a family climate conducive of verbal conflict management at home and disposition to solve conflicts by the process of forgiveness? The possibility is intriguing and would require further correlative analyses of individual questions to start with. As the focus of the current study is conflict in the friendship domain, rather than in the family context, this extension of

the scientific inquiry is beyond the scope of this analysis. The importance of elucidating links between experience, attitudes and behaviour in domestic and peer-peer settings is here emphasized which should be taken into account in a more thorough and longitudinal study.

Coming back to the questions on peer-peer interactions covered by Q32 (I like to do group work with my classmates) and Q34 (I like to help other children), one finds here a drive to approach and actively cooperate with other children. Doing so exposes the child to interactions with peers and in doing so to acquire new friends and strengthen already established relational ties. More intense and frequent interactions with other children may also expose the child to eruption of conflict with friends of various degrees of intimacy status. If so, then maintaining this behaviour of seeking collaboration with and helping other children requires some degree of proficiency in non-disruptive conflict handling in order to continue sharing activities and building friendships.

It is therefore interesting to find that to this same factor 2 also Q36 (I say sorry if I had done something wrong to another child) is associated. This association invites the suggestion that having the forgiveness process firmly incorporated in the repertoire of conflict handling strategies would enable the socially active child to also defuse conflicts - possibly before they become violent – and thereby maintain the relationship. As seen in the thematic analysis of the qualitative part of the empirical study the value of the function of forgiveness was given prominence by the children.

6.1.3.2.3. Factor 1 and Factor 2 Overall Means

The overall means for the factor 1 Violence experience and factor 2 Peace experience and behaviour for all children were 3.53 and 3.59, respectively. Recalling that the Likert scale was built such that the most peaceful response would render the score 4 these results suggest a very peaceful response pattern for the study sample as a whole. The vast majority of children chose the two peaceful response alternatives with a sizable proportion choosing the most peaceful alternative. The factor 1 Violence experience means were higher than the expectations for this study, suggesting that the children perceived rather low levels of violence exposure with a minority of the children recognizing themselves as afflicted by verbal or physical violence. The mean of factor 2 Peace experience and behaviour was also higher than expected suggesting that the majority of children in this sample showed awareness of pro-social and cooperative behaviour found themselves in a family environment with supportive and peaceful indicators. There was however a minority of children that answered negatively and therefore exhibited antisocial behaviour and unsupportive and harsh family environment.

6.1.4. DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS: FACTORS AND SELECTED QUESTIONS

In the following section the results from the demographic comparisons using Factor 1 and Factor 2 means together with the demographic comparisons using the response frequencies of individually chosen questions from the questionnaire will be discussed.

6.1.4.1. Factor 1 and Factor 2: Demographics Overview

The mean values for the reversed scored questions of Violence Experience factor 1 for all demographic subgroups ranged from the least 'peaceful' 3.45 (factor score mean for males) to the most 'peaceful' 3.62 (factor score mean for rich strata). The reverse coding enabled higher scoring for the more peaceful answers, since for these questions they were the two disagreeing responses. This procedure had been applied prior to the factor analysis for 22 out of 40 questions in total. All questions loading to Factor 1 belonged to this category. Therefore these scores from 3.45 to 3.62 were in-between the two peaceful response alternatives where score 3 and 4 denote disagreement and strong disagreement with the 'violent' statements, respectively. For factor 2 (Peace Experience and Behaviour) all loading questions belonged to the 'non-reverse' category. Here, similar ranges was seen throughout the demographic subgroups. Here the lowest and therefore least 'peaceful' score was found for the older category of children (3.43), whereas the highest and most 'peaceful' scoring was displayed by their younger peers (3.77). Taken together the overall 'peacefulness' of responses for questionnaire statements loading to the two factors were hence comparable.

From a methodological perspective it thus seems that similar peacefulness inclination was expressed by the children. In retrospect it can be suggested that formulating the questions forced the children to consider the content and the wording of the statements and adapt response choice accordingly instead of for instance mechanically agree to all statements would they all have been formulated peacefully.

It can also be noted that the demographic comparisons for the questions loading to factor 1 and 2 displayed a number of significant differences. The relatively high number of participants in the various comparisons of a total sample exceeding 1000 children likely contributed to detection of significant but numerically – and possibly functionally - modest differences, as suggested in the small to moderate effect sizes.

6.1.4.2. Gender Comparisons

Beginning with the gender comparisons it was found that females scored higher and therefore more peacefully than males on the questions belonging to factor 1 Violence experience. The corresponding gender comparison for the Peace Experience and Behaviour factor 2 likewise shows significantly higher values for females than for males. These observations are in agreement with the expectations behind the study, as stated in Hypothesis 10 (Coullerton

2008), with boys being more exposed to violence than girls, as well as girls more 'peaceful' responses in terms of peace experience and behaviour. Although both dimensions peace experience and peace behaviour grouped together in Factor 2 still reflect two very different aspects of a child's perceived reality. Further studies could be devised to determine the relative contributions of peace experience and peace behaviour to this gender difference.

The next step of the gender analysis was to examine using results from the questions that were analysed individually. These did not load to any of the factors and attention is therefore needed when comparing demographic assessments between individual questions and the two compound factors. Beginning with gender differences one notes for Q19 (I try to talk out a problem instead of fist fighting) a lower proportion of the males strongly agreeing to this peaceful statement than expected statistically, and a higher proportion of the females than expected. This result is in agreement with the factor 2 observations discussed above and support the notion of females behaving more peacefully than boys. Moreover, this may add a key to the interpretation with the higher inclination among females to solve an interpersonal problem using verbal strategies. As this question was added to the questionnaire in order to probe for tendencies to negotiate it is interesting to register this gender difference. Moreover, Peace experience and behaviour factor 2, which was more associated with females than males, does contain elements (Q29 and Q36) that relate to preference for using non-violent strategies to solve problems and it is conceivable that these contributed to the unequal gender scoring of this factor. Concerning behaviour, differences between the genders are known in the literature, for instance Eagly's (1987) quantitative assessment of 63 studies of aggression in adolescents and Hyde's (1986) examination of 143 studied showing that males displayed more significantly aggressive behaviour than females. The response patterns of Q15 (After I have fought with my friend we forgive each other and continue to be friends) did not display any detectable gender difference in this study. The Spanish word used for fight 'pelear' does include both physical and non-physical forms of violence and could possibly explain that this question did not differentiate between boys and girls. It could well be that the male responders to a greater extent had physical violence in mind than the girls when interpreting this question, but to determine this aspect would require interviews with the boys and girls. This is of course not possible to prove in the current study design. It could also be suggested that although 'talking out a problem' was more likely for the girls, and possibly more physical aggression in the conflict phase expressed by the boys, no significant difference between the gender was found concerning tendency to pursue reconciliation through a forgiveness procedure appeared to be applied to similar extents by both genders. As Q15 and Q19 both are positioned in the friendship domain it is interesting to compare with the transformed INS and IPT data from the thematic analysis also in the friendship domain. Here, these analyses did not give evidence of gender differences and did hence not support the underlying assumption that females would be more advanced in their reasoning than age-matched males in the study sample. The differences in inclination to apply verbal approaches for conflict solving must be sought elsewhere according to the results of these developmental indicators.

Another gender difference observed was found in Q16 (When I lose a match or a game I get angry and violent). Here, the male children answered more violently (agreeing) and females less violently (disagreeing) than expected. Retorting to violent conflict management was also more common among boys and less among girls for as shown in the responses to Q21 (If a child teases me I usually cannot stop him or her unless I hit him). Q16 and Q21 are steered toward violence behaviour which is a dimension not captured in factor 1 that contains experiential questions. Still, one may suggest that a greater propensity to engage in violent behaviour after losses could be associated with increased violence exposure suggested by factor 1 results, at least in the peer-peer context. Experience of violence from adults, which constitute an integral item of factor 1, is probably not involved here to the same extent. As mentioned there were no gender differences in terms of INS and IPT scoring of perspective taking abilities of the children. This developmental observation has somewhat less bearing to Q16 and Q21 as IPT and INS scoring was done on focus group data sets closely associated with the friendship domain, which was most likely not the case for Q16 or Q21 responses. What could be left to explore is the apparent differential operation of acquired perspective taking abilities among females and males possibly leading to more 'peaceful' and more 'violent' posture and action for participating females and males respectively, as suggested in some of the questions studied.

No gender differences were observed for the individual questions Q17 (If I am jealous or envious of someone I want to kill that person at least in my thoughts) or Q18 (If I have a problem with another child I swear and say stupid words). Q17 constitute an example of a 'violence attitude' question and no such questions loaded to factor 1 Violence Experience. However, agreeing to the statement of Q17 implies acknowledging a pattern of thoughts that are very violent and very physical indeed. For Q18 the explicit reference to verbal abuse could contribute to lack of significance between the sexes assuming verbal violence, but not physical violence, being comparable between males and females. The final gender difference was found for Q37 (I get angry if a friend leaves me alone and goes with a new friend) where more males and fewer females strongly disagreed to this statement, whereas fewer males and more females strongly agreed. The gender differences here displayed may suggest more emotionally involving friendship ties for females than for males among the participating children. The opposite gender pattern is here seen in comparison to Q19 (I try to talk out a problem instead of fist fighting), where females showed greater willingness to apply verbal conflict solving strategies than males. These observations do not contradict each other however. A child may be more strongly emotionally involved in a relational problem and at the same time more inclined to solve the issue through a discussion than another child.

Concluding the gender comparisons, the results suggest that the stronger association of boys to violence and the stronger association of girls to verbal strategies for conflict solution do not appear to be related to levels of perspective taking capacities. The emotional aspect may not be straightforwardly connected to violent tendencies as girls showed more troubled feelings in certain conflict situations.

6.1.4.3. Age Comparisons

The comparisons of the younger and older age groups showed a pattern of younger participants agreeing more to the peace behaviour statements in Q15 and Q19 than the older children, whereas the older children tended to agree more and thereby answer more 'violently' than expected statistically to the violence behaviour and attitude-related questions Q16, Q17, Q18, Q19, Q21 and Q37. These findings agree with the results of the comparisons performed using Factor 2 containing peace behaviour, attitude and experience elements. However the results do not lend support to the Hypothesis 9, which assumed higher violence propensity among the younger children who normally are less developed in terms of perspective taking and using verbal conflict resolution strategies (Selman 1980). Factor 2 was shown to negatively correlate with age suggesting more peaceful responses from younger children than from older ones. Here again the younger answered more peacefully than the older children. This outcome contrasts Hypothesis 9 that proposed younger children would more incline to violence than older children (Selman 1980). Why would the younger children to a greater extent forgive a friend after a fight and 'talk out' a problem than the older ones? After all, the older children are expected to be verbally more proficient than the younger and the IPT and INS scoring of perspective taking abilities were clearly superior for the older children. The focus group discussions provided some potential clues to this issue. It appears that the older children were more aware of their dignity and in some situations they feared that they would be taken advantage of if they forgave an offense committed by a friend. Also an element of personal pride could be suggested here. If so forgiveness as well as the related component dialogue could seem less viable options for the older children, whereas younger children were motivated to try to restore the relationship and were possibly less self-aware than the older ones. One is here left to speculations about inner motives and patterns of prioritizations among children of different ages could be explored through for instance deep interviews.

Actually, the only instance where the older children answered more peacefully than the younger was for the questions grouped to Factor 1, which contains violence experience as main component. This pattern was also shown in the positive correlation between factor 1 and age suggesting more peaceful answers from older children than younger, meaning less violence inflicted on older children than on younger ones. It is not immediately intuitive why this discrepancy between Factor 1 and the other results from age comparisons emerged. Several of the individually analysed questions showed more pronounced inclination to verbal and physical abuse and violent attitudes for the older children than the younger ones. If this propensity among older children is general then this could translate to a more violent environment and thereby to more exposure to violence among the older children. But violence behaviour/attitude and violence experience may not be associated in this simplistic way.

Factor 1 includes verbal and physical aggression also from adults. It is likely that the responses to these questions included physical domestic violence and discipline from parents and other adult caretakers. Possibly this type of physical violence subsides when a child reaches adolescence and this could hypothetically contribute to less violent exposure as captured in Factor 1. According to the focus group citations the older children's fights were in general more serious than for younger children. The resulting higher risk for serious injury among older children could – again hypothetically - act as a deterrent and contribute to less exposure of this type of physical violence. Concerning the verbal violence it is more difficult to explain less exposure among older children than younger.

Another possible reason for the less perceived levels of violence exposure by older responders than younger ones could be the fact that that older children are to a greater extent socialized in violence and regard it as something 'normal' and hence 'underestimate' their actual experience of violence when answering the questions in the questionnaire.

The individual questions that probed the dimension violence behaviour showed as mentioned a clear difference with older children responding more violently. One assumption behind the current study was that increased capacity to take perspective would enable older children to choose non-violent strategies for interpersonal conflict. Indeed, the results of the IPT and INS scoring of the focus group citations in this study both showed statistically significant differences between the two age groups with the older participants displaying more advanced reasoning than the younger ones. This outcome is in favour of the older children but failed to translate to reduced violence behaviour with maturation and differentiation of perspective taking apparently as shown for the individual questions.

What could influence children and adolescents to increasingly incorporate violent behaviour as they mature as suggested by the individual questions? These are obviously exceedingly complex phenomena and here only sketchy proposals can be made. The development of a distinct children's and youth's culture through media and school and peer group subculture likely plays important roles. Through a diverse array of available media violent acts are projected and can assume a pattern of 'normality' in the eyes of the children. The violent components of school yard culture were exemplified in the focus group input by the ubiquitously used conflict addressing formula (used by non-friends):

1. Offended: "Do you have a problem?"

2. Offender: "No, you have." Or " Yes, you have?

3. Initiation of reciprocal physical aggression between offended and offender.

Exposure to these examples of violence 'markers' could possibly quench usage of perspective taking that otherwise would be possible at that developmental stage. (Note: This formula was repeatedly mentioned in the focus group sessions by the poor strata children but not by their rich peers.) The fact that younger children scored higher (more 'peacefully') on factor 2 Peace

experience and behaviour, may underline this notion. The violence experience factor contained only 5 questions but they covered both physical as well as verbal aggression exposure, from peers as well as adults. The individually analysed questions Q16, Q17, Q18, Q21 and Q37 as well contained a broad range of physically and verbally aggressive behaviour, violent thoughts and troubled emotions. Moreover, the focus groups discussion showed remarkably insightful statements provided by both older as well as younger children, whereas their testimonies about own behaviour thoughts and feelings often reflected more 'primitive' in the sense of violent patterns.

Taken together, Factor 2 and individual questions show results pointing in the same direction with higher violence inclination among the older participants despite more advanced INS and IPT levels. Although no causality can of course be assessed here, it is difficult to avoid the conjecture mentioned above that increasing exposure to violence from different agents somehow hampers the expression of peaceful mental and behavioural patterns in parity with increasing perspective taking abilities as suggested by the INS and IPT. The higher levels of perceived violence experience indicated by the younger responders to the questionnaire than the older ones could possibly relate to the sad fact that older children are more socialized in violence and hence provide less 'violently' answers than what their actual reality reflects.

6.1.4.4. Social Strata Comparisons

The comparisons between children from poor, middle class or rich social contexts proved did were not as clear-cut as expected. Violence experience factor 1 and Peace experience and behaviour factor 2 displayed slightly more peaceful response patterns for the two richer strata but both factors differences fail to reach statistical significance. Thus these results do not support the expectation expressed in Hypothesis 11 that poorer strata would be associated with a disposition for violence (Eisenberg 2001).

The results of the two peace behaviour questions analysed individually, Q15 (After I have fought with my friend we forgive each other and continue to be friends) and Q19 (I try to talk out a problem instead of fist fighting) both showed more peaceful responses for the middle class and rich categories than the poor, particularly for response frequencies of the 'YES!' (Q15) and 'yes' (Q19) alternatives.

How can these results be reconciled with the lack of strata differences for factor 2? This factor contains questions dealing with resolving problems non-violently including Q29 and a general peaceful stance, i.e. Q39, and are thereby closely related to Q15 and Q19 mentioned above. The coherence of loading to factor 2 and likely also to factor 1 of the different questions did apparently follow other parameters than the social strata groups.

It is here important to evaluate whether the differences between poorer and richer children in their responses to the statements of Q15 and Q19 could relate to perspective taking ability.

Indeed, the focus group discussions suggest in several instances that the children from rich schools were more verbally advanced, displayed more differentiated perspective taking and prosocial behaviour than their peers from more humble circumstances. Moreover, as estimated by IPT and INS scoring of focus group input it was found that the citations from rich strata children overall were higher than those of the poor in terms of IPT levels, and INS showed a suggestive but not significant difference with higher levels for the rich children (the middle strata was not included in these analyses). It is therefore here suggested that perspective taking abilities could contribute to the differences between social strata seen for Q15 and Q19.

More difficult to explain is the finding that for Q17 (If I am jealous or envious of someone I want to kill that person at least in my thoughts) the responses of the children from rich and middle strata were more violent than those for the poor children. These results contradict the underlying assumption that poorer children would answer more 'violently' than middle and rich strata children in the study sample. Here the frequency of responders to the alternative 'YES!' differed the most to the statistically expected distribution. Grouping 'violent' response alternatives 'yes' and 'YES!' one finds 14% of the poor, 22% of the middle and 25% of the rich strata children who responded affirming showing a trend of more violent answer pattern among the richer children (data not shown). This question belongs to the violence attitude dimension and probes the inner motives of the participating children only and not the actual behaviour, as was the case for Q15 and Q19 discussed above. The very strongly and negatively labelled word 'kill' ('matar' in Spanish) was consciously included in the questionnaire in order to probe how the children would interact with this harsh concept, actually it was a comment a ten years old child participating in the pilot focus group made about a classmate "when I am envious I want to kill him at least in my thoutghs"the child come from a poor background. To speculate concerning the unexpected outcome of Q17 one simply suggest that poorer children would answer more 'politically correct' when confronted with the word 'kill' than the richer children. This is a pure speculation and it is not known as to why these specific emotional and behavioural parameters contrast each other in regards to social context.

In conclusion, it is here suggested that the results taken together support the notion that social strata is related to conflict management with rich social context associated with more differentiated and non-violent approaches to address conflict.

6.1.4.5. City Comparisons

The comparisons of the two cities Cucuta and Bogota produced results that spoke with one voice. Factor 1, Factor 2, statements Q15 and Q19 all showed more peaceful answer patterns for children from Cucuta than from Bogota. Hypothesis 12 and the assumption that the participating children from Cucuta, with its notorious violent reputation, would respond more

'violently' was therefore not supported. The frequency distribution between the response alternatives of the questionnaire showed that to Q15 94% of the Cucuta children agreed or agreed strongly to the peaceful statement whereas for Bogota the proportion was 89% (data not shown). For statement Q19 the proportions were 81% and 70% (data not shown). The differences are modest although the distributions differ significantly as shown in the Results section. Admittedly the study design only allowed for inclusion of a handful of schools from each city and this limitation obviously precludes any far-reaching generalizations. In any case these findings contrast the assumptions behind the current study based on the general fact that Cucuta displays higher levels of political violence and general criminality. The less peaceful outcome of the Bogota children's questionnaires was captured using Factor 1. As mentioned above this factor exclusively incorporated questions on physical and verbal violence exposure. In the focus group sessions the poor children from Bogota actually shared more violent exposure, intentions and actions than their poor peers in Cucuta. It should be noted that there were no obvious differences in violence rates between poor neighbourhoods selected in Cucuta and Bogota. The same geographical difference was not as apparent among the rich children participating in the focus groups. It could be mentioned here that although not formally assessed, the strong impression was that the school environment of the poor children from Cucuta participating in the current study was much better organized and had more harmonious atmosphere than that of the poor children in Bogota.

The possibility was also considered that the difference between the poor children from the two cities was a result of more 'politically correct' responses from the Cucuta children both in the focus groups as well as in the questionnaires than from the children from Bogota. The prevailing impression from the focus group discussions is however that the children from Cucuta were as open as the ones from Bogota. That the Bogota disfavoured children had a greater tendency to share about more severe forms of violence involving weapons etc. than those from Cucuta indicates that the former children incorporated into the discourse phenomena normally residing outside the friendship domain. That the children in Cucuta appeared to simply have less exposure to violence than those in Bogota is conceivably the most intuitive and straightforward interpretation of the Factor 1 data. The Cucuta children's more peaceful (agreeing) response patterns for Factor 2, which contains statements on loving family environment, cooperative behaviour with peers and inclination to ask for forgiveness also point in this direction. This is corroborated with the more peaceful Cucuta responses to the questions Q15 and Q19, respectively, which both probe for non-violent conflict solving strategies. What is here described are modest differences between cities but the qualitative and quantitative indices used seem to overall agree on the tendency. To further elucidate geographical differences further controls would need to be in place to balance microenvironment factors that might influence response associations.

In conclusion, the children described their understanding of their situation through the questionnaire input as peaceful. This was apparent for both the questions incorporated in the two factors as well as the questions investigated individually. The fraction of the children who

did answer violently should however be taken into account. Further analyses of the violently responding children could provide insights into both their demographic characteristics as well as their response pattern to certain types of questions.

6.1.5. A CLOSER LOOK AT THE OVERALL PEACE TENDENCY: THEORY AND RESULTS

When looking at the main outcomes of the questionnaire study one striking observation is the general peacefulness shown according to the factor analyses. As described in the results the mean was 3.53 (out of max. 4.0) for the Violence experience Factor 1. The questionnaire statements contributing to this factor imply that the violence had been inflicted on the child and apparently the vast majority of the children disagreed with these statements. Likewise, the mean for factor 2, Peace experience and behaviour, was also very high, 3.59 (out of max. 4.0). Thus the children generally disagreed with 'violent' statements in the questionnaire included in Factor 1, for instance statement Q4 "Other children beat me". Likewise, the children showed a strong tendency to agree with 'peaceful' questionnaire statements incorporated into Peace experience and behaviour factor 2, including for example saying 'sorry' if they have done something wrong to another child, or that they "like helping" others as well as "doing group work" etc. The underlying response frequencies showed that those children who on average answered between score 3 and 4, indicating 'peaceful' or 'strongly peaceful' inclination on the questions loading to the factor 1 Violence experience were 89% (disagreeing) for factor 2 Peace experience and behaviour were 93% (agreeing) (data not shown). Hence, both Factor 1 and Factor 2 were despite their different profiles very much aligned in terms of 'peacefulness' expressed by the responding children's agreeing and disagreeing responses to the questionnaire statements. The question that arises is how a vast majority of the 1177 Colombian children in this study reports such manifestly peaceful tendencies taking into account the aforementioned Colombian socio-political conflict and ordinary criminality with widespread exposure of children to violence. The section below will examine these results from both factors 1 & 2 further in light of the scholarly debate, including a comparison with the focus group results and a discussion on methodological aspects.

6.1.5.1. Violence Experience Factor 1

As mentioned, the Violence experience factor 1 results depict a less violent setting than anticipated as testified by the majority of the participating children. The rationale behind the questionnaire statements that loaded to Violence experience Factor 1 was to explore the 'Sitz im Leben' of the responding child. The questions purposely targeted possible threats or physical aggression toward the responding child and - as for the questionnaire statements in general - Factor 1 statements therefore included other social constellations than the friendship domain, such as adults in general and family context.

The underlying assumption before the study was that most children would agree to the statements on experienced violence inflicted on them or performed violence by them themselves and was based on several lines of research. Developmental researchers have argued that conflicts are part of children's normal social context (Selman et al. 1997, Shantz 1987) and constitute a significant feature of children's peer culture (Corsaro 2003). Moreover, in the negotiation literature on conflict handling it has been remarked that a negotiation "tends to involve threats, deception and other sorts of tactics" (Provis 2004:95, Schelling 1960), and this type of negotiation has been denoted the adversarial type (Craver 2011). This is also true for negotiations between children. According to Yeates' et al. model (1990) interpersonal negotiations strategies (INS) the two most basic levels involve physical aggression and threats to obtain the intended goal. Thus, threats and physical violence seemed very plausible in the relationship contexts in which the questionnaire responders are developing socially. In addition, the Colombian context is characterized by higher levels of violence in the social fabric than many other societies (Watchlist 2012, Bergquist et al. 2001) and still today Colombia has been placed No. 12 worldwide by Verisk MaplEcroft (Criminality Index 2016). Unfortunately this violent propensity has been shown to 'spill over' also to the Colombian children. For instance Rey et al. argue that "the pervasive violence in Colombia has taken its toll on Colombian children, and according to the results of this study, negatively affect children's moral development" (2009:15). Further, in a study on Colombian adolescents Brook et al., state "[b]ecause this violent conflict has continued for such an extended period of time, Colombian adolescents grow up in an environment where there is an expectation that violence, kidnappings, displacement, and murder will occur frequently" (2003:2). A key finding was the connection between violent experience and own aggressive patterns. In Brook's et al. words: "[f]inally, within the ecological domain, having been a victim of violence was highly related to the adolescent's violent behaviour" (2003:5). This varied list of scholarly insights illustrates the underpinning assumption that the participating children's everyday life would entail significant levels of violent conflict.

This reportedly low incidence of threats and physical violence according to the children's experience as seen in violence experience factor 1 is therefore surprising, positive and thought-provoking. And the results invite further questions. What was the demographic profile of the children who did answer violently to factor 1 (and 2) statements? To what extent are these children themselves exposed to violence in different forms – and what forms of violence? What is the frequency of these events and do these experiences affect the child? Does anybody know and care for these children? What is the relationship between the children as victims and the children who are perpetuating violence? Are they the same children? Are certain demographic subgroups overrepresented among 'violent' questionnaire responders? The literature can provide some indications. According to Selman & Schultz (1990) children who grow up in dysfunctional families and with limited exposure to care and affection develop problematic social relationship patterns and find it difficult to take interpersonal perspective. Moreover, Shantz and Hartup discussing about children's conflict and development of antisocial behaviour emphasise the influence of inadequate and

frustrating domestic relationships on children. Notably they also argue that parents' violent management of conflict at home is adopted by their children who consequently tend to behave aggressively against their peers. In contrast children who lived in friendly contexts that made them feel secure displayed less aggression when engaged in conflict possibly as a result of fair and caring family context (1995). In the same vein, a study executed in Colombia analysed effects of displacement and exposure to violence on children's moral reasoning concerning their assessment of peer-oriented moral wrongdoings (hitting and not sharing toys). The study included boys and girls (6, 9 and 12 years old) from different socio-economic clusters ranging from marginal to extreme exposure of violence. The results showed that the majority of children judged moral trespasses as inherently wrong. Here exposure to violence was associated with higher propensity to justify violent actions and refusal of sharing resources when provoked. This group also tended to accept retaliation as a mode of retribution, in contrast to those children with lowest exposure to violence. Unexpectedly, the whole group of children regarded reconciliation as possible (Rey et al. 2009). These reports point to circumstantial factors as influencing children's choice of strategies for addressing conflicts. In sum, the somewhat unexpected results of Violence experience factor 1 suggest that the average questionnaire responder enjoys a rather peaceful context in peer and domestic settings despite the fact that Colombia has been regarded a rather violent country. A follow-up study on the extant data set is warranted to examine the demographic characteristics of the very small amount of more 'violently' responding children in the questionnaire material to get a clearer picture of potential contextual influences.

6.1.5.2. Peace Experience and Behaviour Factor 2 vs. Questions Q15 and Q19

As for Violence experience factor 1, it is interesting to note the peaceful outcome of questionnaire statements belonging to Peace experience and behaviour factor 2 as well of the statements analysed individually. For instance, 75% of the children agreed to the statement Q19 "I try to talk out a problem instead of fist fighting", suggesting a strong preference for verbal conflict resolution strategies. Moreover, the responses to statement Q15 "After I have fought with my friend we forgive each other and continue to be friends" showed that more than 90% of the children agreed with this statement. Examining the factor 2 and statements Q15 and Q19 together it was observed that the concept of communication and dialogue or 'talk' emerge as key mechanism to solve conflicts between friends. Note that the Factor 2 incorporated the statement Q29 "At home we speak about our problems and try to find a solution" and statement Q36 "I say sorry if I had done something wrong to another child". The concepts "forgiveness", "I say sorry", and "we speak" are all linked to the aspect of dialogue. Thus the majority of children profess to use or at least strongly prefer verbal approaches to address these conflicts, where the dialogue appears to function as a regulator of relationship homeostasis – in terms of starting, maintaining and restoring the relationship or conclude an impasse. The Peace experience and behaviour factor 2 and the individual statements Q15 and Q19 all contain dialogic processes that may function as a "framework through which the responders evaluate the problem" (Kellett & Dalton 2001:25) to arrive at 'forgiveness' or reach

a solution. It is here suggested this non-violent method brings in aspects of Yeates et al. (1990) interpersonal negotiation strategies (INS) necessary to restore the relationship back to equilibrium after a conflict episode. The importance of communication for negotiated solutions of conflicts has been discussed above, notably Putnam and Roloff comment that the negotiation process constitutes a communication form in its own right used to achieve settlements between parties. In fact, negotiation and communication are interwoven such that negotiation is not conceivable without communication of some kind (1992).

Perspective taking is closely and functionally related to dialogue and communication. True collaborative qualities of exchange in Selman's models typically belong to the most advanced developmental stage and involve the integration of the interests of self and other. Thus, this type of negotiation is approached and conducted applying a third person perspective (Selman & Schultz, 1990). The capacity to take perspective on self and the other can contribute to forging a genuine dialogue. The statements Q29 and Q36 of factor 2 and the individually analysed statements Q15 and Q19 assume that a conflict has occurred and the relational dissonance is evident. The following actions are embedded in the disagreement, including the dialogue, which may form a "critical framework" (Kellett & Dalton 2001:25) that facilitates assessment of the situation involving perspective taking. Taking one step further, Mnookin et al. (1996) argues for integrative solutions of negotiation based creative win-win strategies that can be facilitated through clear communication of ambitions by assertive negotiation parties (see also Ma & Jaeger 2010). The questionnaire results illustrate a desire for a type of interaction that relates to this win-win paradigm as well as it displays Selman's description of the most sophisticated perspective taking and INS strategy level 3 (1980). This insight is easily translated to the peace education setting where the explicit objective is to shun aggression and violence and instead develop peace dialogues (Harris & Morrison 2012) for which competencies are to be developed.

Finally, the questionnaire statements Q15 and Q36 mentioned above both incorporate the component 'forgiveness', which was regarded by the majority of children an obvious strategy for solving conflicts. Forgiveness has been examined as a communication process, and "[i]s a means by which distressed partners can negotiate improvements in relational justice, create a renewed sense of optimism and well-being, and potentially recover lost intimacy and trust" (Waldron & Kelley 2008:vii). Applying the notion of forgiveness as communication to questionnaire statements Q15, Q36 and possibly also Q19 one notes the following required components: (1) the dialogue used as instrument, (2) an interaction between two actors, (3) communication of regret is included, (4) the parties agree to end the conflict. The outcome may (as for statement Q15) or may not include renewed commitment to the relationship. Thus, the responding children seemed to have an idea of forgiveness as a mechanism for facilitating conflict resolution by agreeing to the 'forgiveness' related statements in the questionnaire. However, to dissect the concept of forgiveness with all its complexity and its role in real life conflicts was not in scope of the questionnaire study. In the focus group discussions the topic of forgiveness was spontaneously raised by the children. Here they

showed acquaintance with the forgiveness process and the components needed for true reconciliation. In the qualitative section 6.2 the children's views and experience concerning forgiveness will be further elaborated.

6.1.5.3. Focus Group and Questionnaires

Having discussed the Factors 1 & 2 and some individually analysed questions it is clear that the tendency of the data is in agreement with dialogue, forgiveness, non-violence and peaceful statements. With this in mind one can take a closer look at the peacefulness shown in the focus group citations. Using the focus group data trying to explain the 'peacefulness' of the questionnaire results requires the assumption that the testimonies from the focus group children are more or less representative of the ten times larger group of questionnaire responders. (The full discussion of focus group input is found below in the qualitative part this section.) There are indeed aspects in the focus group data that relate to peacefulness and exceed the assumptions behind this study and here two main features emerge from the children's testimonies: First, they demonstrated capacity of reasoning that enables taking perspective on the self and the other, albeit at times they admitted feeling incapable of actions that matched their reasoning, which in turn resonates with Selman's views (1980, Selman et al. 1997). Indeed, the children were in general less bitter, sarcastic and 'hardened in heart' than expected. Even the most violent boy admitted that he simply did not think when he reacted violently, and pre-meditated violent acts did not surface in the discussions.

Second, the children's ardent desire for harmonious friendship relationships coupled with the common pattern of trying to resolve also 'ugly' conflicts with friends through dialogue and forgiveness was much more developed in all categories of children than expected. In this regard, Selman et al. (1997) states that children experience the need to feel competent in their social realms and for this competency to be acquired children need to learn to reason from both perspective of the self-interest and the social interest. Moreover, in the thematic analysis the overarching theme that emerged was 'Friends should be able to solve conflicts', which shows that the children's mature cognition and emotional coordination allow them to view the relationship from a third perspective and valuing it so that actions would be taken in favour of it. Moreover, the friends' perceived responsibility to solve conflicts relates to Selman's et al., (1997) view of a highly differentiated perspective taking of one self and the other's interests and in negotiation terms this phenomenon refers to a prosocial behaviour looking for common satisfaction (Beersma & De Dreu 1999). In order to work out feelings in social interactions one has to be concerned with own interests as well as with the relationship with the other and a child (or adult) with less differentiated perspective taking would struggle to coordinate these two ambitions (Selman et al. 1997). It thus appears that commitment to a relationship is intertwined with the perspective taking ability necessary to uphold the friendship. These findings from the focus group results showing considerable perspective taking abilities and strong motivation to restore relationships could contribute to explaining the unexpected peacefulness displayed in the questionnaire results.

6.1.5.4. The Judgement-Action Gap Theory

The children responding to the questionnaire statement and participating in the focus group sessions did display awareness of moral centrality in terms of consciousness and subscription to a variety of norms regulating behaviour within the friendship arena including conflict management. Only in the focus group testimonies the children acknowledged their own deviations from socially accepted norms they subscribed to themselves. This 'gap' between actions and norms has been denoted the 'judgement-action gap' described by many authors, including Reed and Stoermer: "The so-called judgement–action gap has been notorious since at least the middle of Kohlberg's career. It arose as a problem in the relationship between what a person judges to be the right thing to do in a hypothetical situation, on the one hand, and what the person actually does in real-life situations that are like the hypothetical one, on the other (2008:421). Could the judgment-action gap contribute to understanding of the questionnaire and focus group results in the sense that the questionnaire statements were regarded more hypothetical than the focus group discussions on own experiences? The theories behind the judgement-action gap ascribe pivotal importance to the concept of 'moral centrality' as a composite psychological phenomenon that could explain the observed judgement-action gap. Reed and Stoermer continue: "Frimer and Walker contend, in sum, that adequate understandings of moral centrality (the centrality of moral purposes among the aims with which a person principally identifies) and the integrity of the self (including responsibility) are both necessary and sufficient for a psychological account that bridges the gap. Reed and Stoermer's argument is consistent with this in holding that the gap properly understood is a gap between actions and responsibility judgements, rather than deontic judgements, or between a judgement that one is responsible to do something as distinct from a judgement that it is the right thing to do" (Reed & Stoermer 2008:422). The argument here is that moral centrality, involving subscription to accepted norms of human behaviour, and integrity of the self, denoting personal responsibility to adhere to these norms, are separate functions that together are sufficient to account for the judgement-action gap. A related concept constructed to explain discrepancies between participants' responses to questions posed in a research context and their experienced reality is 'social desirability bias'. Grimm explains: "The idea of 'political correctness' is based on social desirability bias. The problem of social desirability bias is most likely to occur in those situations in which questions relate to what are widely accepted attitudes, or behavioural or social norms" (2010, see also Nederhof 1985). Indeed, widely accepted social norms regulating behaviour pertinent to the research question were penetrated by the children including conflict handling between friends, forgiveness and restoration of friendship. Here, the possibility is considered that social desirability would more come into play in the questionnaire situation than in the focus groups, where often a rather candid discussion climate developed. For example some children in the focus groups admitted their violent reasoning and behaviour, and in some cases some children legitimised their physically aggressive actions as justified responses to provocations. In other cases the children acknowledged that they realised they had done wrong. The neutral stance maintained by the researcher facilitating the focus groups could have reduced the urge to

respond to 'please' the researcher by professing compliance to learnt norms of social behaviour. (The interplay between the investigator and the focus group children is further discussed in the following discussion on focus group results as well as in the section Pedagogical Insights.) Coming back to the differences between the questionnaire and focus group results, the judgement-action gap could serve as explanatory model for variances in feedback provided through these two data sets.

In conclusion, it is here suggested that a gap between perceived and actual violence tendencies could be at hand in the questionnaire input that could in part explain the generally higher peacefulness of the questionnaire input than the focus group testimonies.

In sum, we have examined the overall results from the Violence experience factor 1 and Peace experience and behaviour factor 2 from the questionnaire responses and found for both factors a prominent and unexpected peace tendency displayed. This outcome contrasts results from published studies referred to above on perspective taking development, negotiation research, peace education and reports on Colombian society. Interestingly the questionnaire based results were in general more 'peaceful' than the focus group testimonies, which could partly be associated with methodological components affecting how values and behaviour are shared in questionnaires and focus groups. The peaceful input to the questionnaires and the fact that both the questionnaire responders and the focus group participants agreed with the principles of forgiveness and reconciliation in both thought and behaviour in the context of solving conflicts with the friend, hold promise for future peace education interventions. Peace education at the interpersonal level aim to promote peaceful handling of conflicts by teaching and training competencies such as empathy, which can only be achieved by taking third person perspective. Kupermintz and Salomon listed lessons from their research on peace education a region of intractable and violent conflict arguing that for peaceful interactions "[t]he gradual establishment of strong and empathic interpersonal relations may be a necessary precondition" (2005:300). Adding to that as discussed in this study negotiation competencies are crucial for mutually satisfying and effective outcomes by using, dialogue or "talk" (using the children's terminology) as the communication framework in combination with the disposition to forgive.

Now that a peaceful disposition is expressed in the children's input at least in thought does not imply that it will remain so effortlessly. Such a stance is wishful, naïve, irresponsible and dangerous leading to slow down our combat against violence. Assuming that the context in which the responding children currently find themselves is relatively peaceful then a peace education work still has to be done in order to take advantage of this favourable situation before malignant violent influences found at various parts of the Colombian society may start impacting these children. Particularly in a country like Colombia, where violence has been established as a vicious spiral manifest in the Colombian culture (Rey 2009, Brook et al. 2003), and as a transition from war to peace has been initiated peace education has an important role to play.

Having discussed the quantitative results from the transformed focus group data and the questionnaire responses the discussion will focus its attention to the qualitative study containing the thematic analysis.

6.2. QUALITATIVE STUDY

Having discussed the quantitative results above the next step is to consider the qualitative part of the empirical study involving children's input provided through the focus groups dialogues. The discussion will revolve around the five main themes that have emerged in the thematic analysis which together formed the overarching theme 'Friends Should Be Able to Solve Conflicts' displaying prioritization of the friendship relationship above the conflict. The data will also be examined in relation to the aspect of perspective taking and negotiation and the relevance for peace education research and practice.

6.2.1. SUMMARY OF QUALITATIVE RESULTS

The results of the thematic analysis showed a wealth of contributions and rich in insights provided by the children in the focus groups based on a dilemma narrative illustrating the main research topic 'Conflict in the Friendship Domain'. The openness in sharing opinions and feelings concerning conflicts with their friends was particularly rewarding enabling the sessions to develop into learning and 'unburdening' experiences according to the children's own testimonies. The thematic analysis yielded important insights on main themes that the children brought up in the focus groups sessions: Friendship, Dialogue in Handling Conflict, Handling Emotions in Conflict, Negative Emotions in Conflict and Forgiveness in Conflict. The overarching theme derived from the interviews was termed Friends Should Be Able to Solve Conflicts, which reflects the opinion of the majority of participating children. That the main emphasis of the children's input was not on the conflict itself but rather in the friendship relation was surprising. A stronger value was given to the topic of friendship seen throughout the focus group discussions and to the importance to solve the conflict so that the friends would be together again. Nevertheless it is relevant to acknowledge the process of thoughtful deliberations about the troublesome intricacy of the conflict between the two friends. A handful of children however, expressed strong doubts that the narrative characters would be able to solve their conflict and restore their friendship to be together again. They objected that the other friend have been too offensive and unsupportive therefore reunification would not be possible. Thus, children's reasoning capability was manifested at different levels and included a variety of strategies when they engaged in the conflict depicted in the dilemma narrative. Here they displayed their willigness to dialogue and to take perspective when discussing mixed emotions to approach the disagreement using different negotiation strategies and readiness to engage in forgiveness for a satisfactory outcome. This was of course the most important for them – stating an ambition to solve a conflict so that a friendship relationship may be restored and strengthened.

Diagram 6.1: Connecting the Themes from the Focus Group Discussions

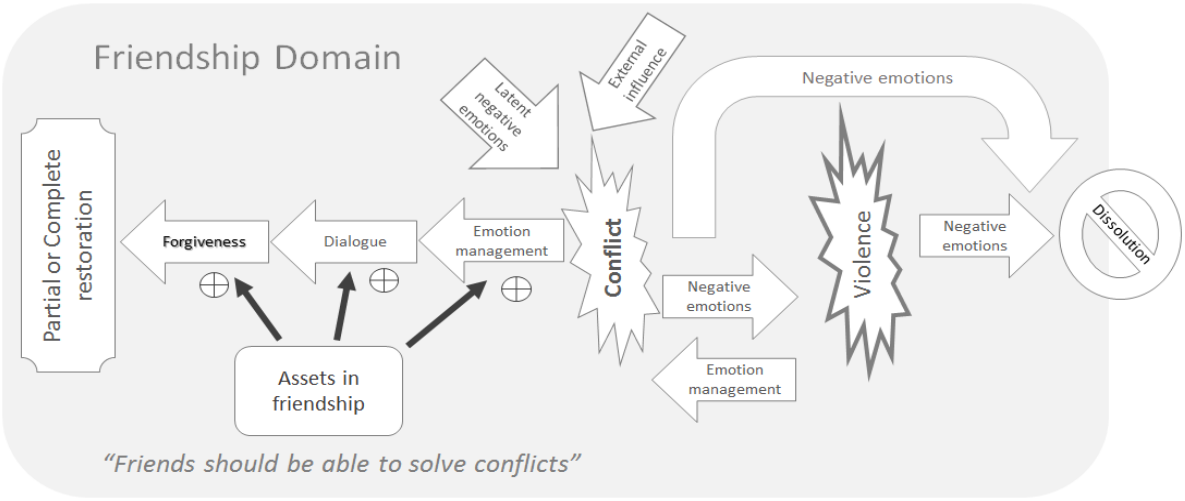


Diagram 6.1: The conflict provoked in the friendship domain by internal and/or external factors may develop in the direction of reconciliation through assets in friendship that stimulate emotion management, dialogue and forgiveness leading to partial or complete friendship restoration. If unchecked the negative emotions may elicit violent actions and dissolution of the friendship.

Analysing the focus group discussions it was hence found that these discussions revolved around 5 main themes sparked by the content of the dilemma and enriched by further elaborations from the children drawing from their own experiences. How these themes can be mechanistically associated based on the children's own testimonies is shown in the diagram 6.1 'Connecting the Themes from the Focus Group Discussions'.

Within the friendship configuration the conflict drama takes place. This conflict results from an external stimuli such as a sports team selection in the dilemma narrative plus potential latent negative emotions derived from relational imbalances between the friends. The conflict erupts resulting in further negative emotions supported by undesirable actions that may lead to dissolution of the friendship through avoidance or via verbal or physical violence that in turn exacerbates the negative emotions. On the other hand the negative emotions can in some cases be managed, also after violent incidents. When these negative emotions are sufficiently managed then a dialogue between the friends may be initiated to further understanding and perhaps empathy. When this interaction takes the form of unilateral or bilateral forgiveness conflict is ended and the friendship partially or completely restored – or in the best case scenario even strengthened. The assets accumulated over time in the friendship relationship, including trust, loyalty and support, can possibly facilitate or motivate the de-escalation of conflict via emotion management, dialogue and forgiveness leading to reconciliation. This propensity of assets to tip the balance in favour of conflict resolution obviously constitutes a key asset in itself.

6.2.2. THE ASSET OF FRIENDSHIP

In the minds of the children that participated in the focus group it appeared that friendship is a topic, it is something that they value above conflicts giving the impression that for them conflict is an event that happens sometimes but friendship is to be maintained, which is in line with Selman et al., who argue that conflict is part of social life and that children develop in intimacy and autonomy through learning how to interact with these conflicts in the friendship relationship (1997). It is equally argued by Berndt that as children grow in age they increase their interactions with peers which become friends the friendship's features also develop into more closeness and disclosure of private information (1996), these interactions can have both supportive effects and also conflictive tones. The children's input therefore, indicated that the themes of friendship and conflict comprised the two main topics with friendship having precedence. These two topics were conceptually organised such that friendship constituted the overall frame with conflict as the central component therein.

Particularly noteworthy here is that the majority of children, irrespective of demographic characteristics, reasoned that the conflict depicted in the narrative was solvable between the two friends. This judgement did not in any way diminish neither the complexity of their thoughts nor the intensity of the negative emotions experienced by these children when in conflict situations with their friends. Other situational and latent factors having also appeared to be discussed so that through dialogue the conflict would be settled and completely or partially restore friendship trust and intimacy.

Below a number of children both younger and older giving voice to the opinion that of the conflict type represented in the dilemma narrative should be solvable between friends:

Older children reasoning that friendship come first in conflict situations providing diverse manners in which the conflict should be tackled to reach an agreement such as talking with while taking perspective and showing empathy to the other.

N1.Because they are childhood friends then they should understand each other (CS.Middle.Male.12yrs).[12]

N1: Because they are childhood friends they should understand each other if they understand each other they could talk and reach an agreement (AB.Poor.Female.13yrs).

This older child goes further judging the conflict not meriting an end to the friendship and proposes a practical solution that both can enjoy because both seem to be good at the same sport.

[12] For a list of the participating children and their demographic indicators including full school name please go to table 5.3.

N4.Well from my point of view is not a problem worth saying that the friendship ends here because there may be very good agreement between them both then it seems to me that they play very good tennis then they can start playing tennis or something. It is not a difficult problem to solve (V.Rich.Male.13yrs).

Below this younger child also claiming that friends should preserve their friendship relationship presents a developed practical strategy: taking time, talking, apologizing and renewal of their commitment. Important to observe an elaborated proposal coming from a younger child and showing a high capacity to take perspective on both friends.

N1: When Julia get some spare time from the matches and the championships Julia could take a bit of time to talk to Alexandra and Alexandra can try to talk to Julia and you can apologize be friends again and say that they should not fight again because they are best friends since childhood (EH.Rich.Female.9yrs).

Some of the children finding the problem solvable went an extra step suggesting that the friends in the narrative, including the disappointed friend not elected to the school sports team, should support the other friend:

N4: They should talk because if they really are friends they should support each other (CAH.Poor.Female.14yrs).

N1: Well if I was Alex I first would have not been angry with my friend because he is my life friend and we have always played and we have always been happy together and because one is accepted and then other not then they get angry and fight over silly things then if I would be Alex instead of fighting I would support my friend would support him and yes I would support him. (V.Rich.Male.13yrs)

The belief that friends should be able to solve conflicts emerges unexpectedly as the central thrust of the focus group material. Apparently friends carry a strong potential to solve conflicts between themselves; indeed, this is put forward with such emphasis by the participating children that they expressed this conviction almost as an obligation based on an assumed commitment between each other: Friends *should* be able to solve conflicts. This overarching finding will steer the following discussion of the focus group data where the characteristics of the friendship will be analysed to discern what properties therein that enable conflict resolution between the parties. In addition a developmental perspective will be applied where appropriate interacting with Selman's and developmental psychologists' insights in conjunction with relevant pedagogical perspectives within a peace education framework.

6.2.3. QUARRELLING IS PERCEIVED AS NORMAL

The next step is to discuss what can be learnt from children's views on conflicts in friendship relations as such. Both younger and older children in this study offered their views about the conflict feature in the dilemma narrative that arose between two friends and they also generously shared about real life conflicts with their own friends. It will here be reiterated how conflict can be defined based on discussions from preceding theoretical chapters. According to Woodhouse et al. conflict is "an intrinsic and inevitable aspect of social change" (2005). Scarcity, power, economic interests and value based differences are generally causes in which a disagreement or a conflict occurs (Wallensteen 2002). Additional terms also belonging to conflict discourses include competition, tensions, disputes, opposition, antagonism, quarrel, disagreement, controversy and violence (Fink, 1968). Recent definitions by conflict theorists include interdependence, interference and obstruction (Deutsch et al. 2014) and in Barki and Hartwick's definition of interpersonal conflict the terms are grouped as "disagreement, negative emotion, or interference" (2004:218). Most, if not all, of these concepts associated with conflict can be translated to the interpersonal level in the class room, school yard or sports field. Social changes mentioned above are *legio* when the observer zooms in micro-processes between children at school. Newcomers, victories and defeats, competition for resources, competition for relations and betrayal may tilt relational equilibria leading to conflicts. In order to better understand the special environment friendships may offer in conflictive situations the concept of conflict as such in children's everyday life will now be explored. At the interpersonal level Hartup et al. understand conflict in the following way: "[C]onflict consists of an opposition between two individuals" (1988:1591) a tenet that underlies their own research on children. Hay provides an operational definition using the same vocabulary and denotes interpersonal conflict as the action of an individual that is opposed by another individual, the action may have been intentionally or unintentionally aimed to damage the affected individual (1984). A complementing statement is posed by Shantz who argues that a conflict situation assumes antagonistic actions or interests (1987). The three definitions above collate the concepts of 'opposition', 'antagonism' and 'damage', which all have very strong negative connotations. Still they may have a bearing on conflicts also in the friendship domain as indicated in the citations from the focus group children.

Looking into the world of children and what is going on in their friendship relationships with respect to conflicts one can begin with the general observation of Corsaro et al.: "Conflict is a central feature of kids' peer culture. However, children's attitudes toward an engagement in conflict and debate are very much part of their experience in their local school cultures and in the wider community and society of which the kids are members" (2003:89).

The citation below gives us an understanding of friendship that includes conflict as a normal part of the friendship relation acknowledging both the positive aspects and the conflict.

"N1: We spend time during breaks at school we support each other also some fights and all of that but… (Laughs) it is always important to share everything" (CS.Female.Middle.14yrs)

In contrast to the citation above on conflicts between friends the following focus group child shares about a prolonged conflict between friends and the background involving a new girl who intentionally wants to separate them:

“N4: In other words we welcomed the (new) girl so that she would not feel alone but what she did was to break the friendship and right now she believes what she (new girl) says and I believe what she (new girl) tells me and now we are in conflict often because many times she (new girl) says things that are not” (CAH.Poor.Female.14yrs)

There is obviously a range of conflict types with different etiology and a general observation made by the focus group children is that conflicts are commonplace in friendship relations.

Conflicts and various expressions thereof between friends have attracted researchers. For instance, Green has suggested that conflicts in terms of quarrelling constitute an integral part of friendship repertoire of interactions based on own research on pre-school children’s friendships: “The relationship of quarrelling to friendship that was found by the method of correlation and by the method of selecting pairs of mutual friends and pairs of mutual quarrellers, seems to indicate that quarrelling is a necessary part of friendship at least in early childhood” (Green 1933: 251). Green actually goes as far as to state that "[t]here is a slight tendency for those who play together also to quarrel together, and this would seem to indicate that quarrelling is a part of friendship rather than its antithesis" (Green 1933:248). Selman goes a step further saying that “[c]onflict among close friends is inevitable if the friendship is truly close” (Selman et al. 1997:32)

The conflict as an intrinsic constituent of the friendship relation between children is here affirmed. One might suggest that the more time spent together the more exposure to situations that can cause conflict. It has also been noted that children argue more often than adults and tend to spur arguments with heated comments on input previously given in the exchange by the other party (Maynard 1985).

In this study both younger and older children also manifested that they have conflicts with their friends but that it often does not last long:

“N1: We do nothing only we begin to give bad looks to each other and leave but then I go and I feel sad but leave anyway and then when we are back from the class recess we are giving hugs to each other” (V.Rich.Female.7yrs)

As has been mentioned above, it is conceivable that children in a friendship relationship would more often have disagreements based on the fact that they spend more time together than children that are not friends as suggested by Hartup who states that young children and adolescents ‘spend much time with their friends’ indicating that maintaining these friendships despite conflicts occurring is of great importance to the children (Shantz & Hartup 1995:86). One could here suggest that these findings to a great extent also apply to the primary school children belonging to the younger focus groups, and perhaps also to the secondary school

children. In fact, children having observed that conflict was not something they desired still no child voiced concern over conflicts as being non-compatible with friendship relations between peers.

Research on younger children of 3 to 5 yrs by Hartup et al. supports the notion of friends having conflicts as with non-friends, but apparently with more favourable outcomes: "Conflicts between mutual friends, as compared to those occurring between neutral associates: (a) did not occur less frequently, differ in length, or differ in the situations that instigated them, but (b) were less intense, were resolved more frequently with disengagement, and more frequently resulted in equal or partially equal outcomes. Continued socialization was also more likely following conflicts between friends" (1988: 1590). These observations were done in the context of very young children with less developed perspective taking abilities and less time invested in relationships than the vast majority of the children participating in the current study. It is nevertheless interesting that friendship relations still influence how conflicts are managed by children at this young age.

Hartup and colleagues did actually follow-up on the study related above in the sense that they also included slightly older children in a subsequent study. Investigating conflict and competition among school children who had been given different instructions for playing a board game it was found that more conflicts between friends emerged repeatedly and persisted longer than between non-friends (Hartup 1996; referring to Hartup et al. 1993). This finding is significant in that it shows increased frequency and duration of conflictive episodes between friends that between non-friends. In what sense does the friendship relation as such 'open up' to conflicts that do not appear or are quenched in more distant relations between peers?

It is conceivable that friendship relations of older children and adolescents with more time to mature and with greater degree of perspective taking from both parties involved would shape the handling of conflicts even more than the children in Hartup's et al. study. The element of mixed feelings is also likely to be more pronounced among the older children who have gained abilities in multivalent perspective taking than among the younger ones.

Examining friendship and its conflicts a bit closer the insights from Berndt's research can prove useful: "Even best friendships can have negative features. Most children admit that best friends sometimes have conflicts with each other. In addition, children typically think of themselves as equal to their friends, but equality can be more an ideal than a reality. Children sometimes say that their friends try to boss them around, or dominate them. Children say that their friends 'try to prove they're better than me', or engage in rivalry. When asked about actual friendships, children usually report the co-occurrence of conflicts, dominance attempts, and rivalry. Thus, all negative features seem to be linked to a single dimension of friendship quality. Scores on this negative dimension are only weakly correlated with those on the positive dimension (1996), so both dimensions must be considered when defining the quality of a friendship" (Berndt 2002:7). What is being emphasised in the observations above is the

mixed quality of friendship itself with positive and negative dimensions, where the negative dimension show affinity to competitive traits like rivalry and domination. Berndt also notes the emotional difficulties this negative aspects inflict on children: “Children prize friendships that are high in prosocial behaviour, intimacy, and other positive features. Children are troubled by friendships that are high in conflicts, dominance, rivalry, and other negative features” (Berndt 2002:10). One could here also speculate that conflicts in a relationship can become systemic or permanent when a child fails not learn from the conflicts he or she encounters. Underlying causes that may hamper constructive perspective taking could include the child’s sense of insecurity and lack of support from external sources such as friends, parents and teachers etc.

Below the focus group boy and his friend are actually very good friends and both belong to rich families and enjoy the support from their parents in the friendship. They enjoy playing computer games but N1 is better than his friend, the citation below describes a conflict caused by competition between these two friends:

“N1: It was for the same reason because I had won… he said hear me you frog you’re stupid you are a crack” (EH.Rich.Male.13yrs)

N1 laughs when he describes the conflict and it seems the friendship had not been negatively affected through the incident. The verbal aggression underscores the strong emotions during disequilibrium but even that did not distance the friends from the other long time. It is not known whether a forgiveness act between the friends was the instrument of reconciliation. Important is the fact that that later this boy and his friend did other things that both enjoy and where competitiveness was not in view. If that was the case then most likely perspective taking and negotiation were employed by the friends to prevent further conflicts of this kind.

The citation below is provided by a child who is angry because his friend is better at football tricks. His anger converts in physical violence which obviously hurts the friend and the friendship:

N3: “Because when he gets angry gets furious come here do you want to see this? And punches him in the face come friend let's play and he comes and close your eyes … have it (friend gets punched)”. (F.Poor.Male.8yrs)

The following citation actually represents the minority. It portrays a girl with aversion against any kind of competition and links competition as a root causes to conflict:

N5: “Well for example I do not consider myself to be super-competitive and do not fight with my best friends because being competitive I could cause problems” (V.Rich.Female.12yrs)

The inhibition exhibited by this girl appears very strong being self-aware and expressed in a direct form whereas few others expressed the same tendency indirectly during the focus group sessions. The statement nevertheless underscores the perceived connection or even

causality between competition between friends and conflicts between them**.** One could argue that conflict avoidance through not being competitive here is not lack of interpersonal perspective taking but the need of self-assertiveness as to know that there are basic needs every individual has including oneself. As a matter of fact, at the end of the session this girl did discretely mention that she also wanted to win.

6.2.4. CONFLICTS CONTRIBUTE TO SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Concerning a developmental role of social conflict between children, including conflicts not necessarily between friends, it has been suggested by Piaget, here related by Shantz that "conflict, particular between those of equal power, is essential for the reduction of egocentrism. One child's objections to another's goals [or needs], for example, serve as prods to the child to reflect on her or his own reasons for holding certain positions, wanting certain things, and the like in order to justify the merits of the child's viewpoint and the logic of the reasoning. Such interpersonal conflict engenders intrapsychic conflict (cognitive conflict), to result in the ability, Piaget thought, to operate in concert with others, that is, to *co*-operate, and to foster cognitive development in general" (Shantz 1987:284). Piaget's developmental notion above is pertinent to any conflict between children of equal power and would then have a bearing on conflicts between friends as well. Concerning friendships, Gottman has reported on conflicts and conflict solving as constituting basic processes in relations between friends during childhood (referred to by Shantz 1987:301).

What Piaget here discusses is of course closely related to perspective taking and the development thereof. Strands of later research have reported similar constructive effects of conflicts. So Corsaro: "a need for further research on the role of conflict in children's peer relations and friendships. The work to date challenges the assumption that conflict is inherently disorderly, demonstrating that conflicts and disputes provide children with a rich arena for the development of language, interpersonal and social organizational skills, and social knowledge" (1994:22). Sullivan would agree in general terms with the sentiment that friendships are understood to be developmental fountains requiring children to control selfishness and adopt equality postures as well as to handle conflicts proficiently. He also asserted that sincere close relationships entailed collaboration (1953).

From the child's perspective, he or she is normally surrounded with an array of relationships and conflicts arising in many of them. Handling the immediate conflicts combined with managing relationships constitute everyday challenges or crises the child has to learn to deal with. However, the learning process itself is hardly the focus of the child – let alone the Piagetian models thereof. The child registers the problems, reasons about them and works out their resolution, and that is what is important. In the Piagetian transformation paradigm it is the structure of understanding which differentiates as children grow and reaches higher levels. The developmental approach utilized in the current study is mainly interested in

children's reasoning, emotions and behaviour of conflict in friendship and may look like it is studied as an abstract concept therefore to compensate let us illustrate friendship transformation process in the mind of the child.

Piaget 1967 for example a child having a structure of three elements and in the process of adding two new structures cannot continue being the same without having problems. The fact is that a child who has a certain number of cognitive structures established becomes irritated when confronted with new elements coming his way as these elements become a threat to the child, temporarily destabilizing the foundation established so far. In the process of integrating these new structures a crisis is experienced by the child, with a magnitude that may vary according to the novelty or contrast to existing system of structure the new element brings. Normally people would not give up a useful tool which gives them security and stability. This tool would in Piagetian terminology a scheme correspond to an overarching worldview or paradigm that the child embraces. For example let us look at a child that has a friend and in his scheme or worldview a friend is somebody who has to help him if he is in need. If the child holds this view and is convinced of his definition of a friend he is positioned in a temporary state of equilibrium. But If the child is not sure about his friend and asks himself: 'is he still my friend', 'do I want him still as my friend' 'I am not sure anymore'. What he does is to ponder asking himself questions causing uncertainty and disequilibrium. The questions posed may change his view of friendship character of the relationship itself or, more profoundly, put into question of his definition of friendship, his current friendship scheme. In the latter case the opportunity to become more differentiated appears and he will need to go through the process until he reaches stability and his worldview gets is modified in terms of what it is to have a friend. If the friendship scheme is not modified then the friend is 'disqualified' as friend. If however the friendship scheme is transformed it may or may not again include his friend. This process would be facilitated by supportive parents, friends, teachers etc. If not the child has to work out the disequilibrium or crisis on his own, which may take more time, increasing the risk for running into cognitive cul-de-sacs prolonging the transformation and probably increasing the risk for relational damage.

At this point a complementing perspective on the role of conflicts in constructing social knowledge could be brought to the discussion. Corsaro (1994) highlights the school of thought that gives weight to collectively gained insights through a process integrated in a social and relational network of individuals: However, some contemporary developmental theorists argue that such conflicts and their resolution are not merely cognitive, but are relational in that they naturally emerge in children's social interactions with adults and peers. What is crucial to cognitive development from this perspective is the social coordination of conflicting viewpoints that leads to "collectively thought-out resolutions" (Mugny & Carugati 1989:10). Although these theorists note that such collective resolutions always occur "within a tissue of complex social relations" (Ibid), their primary emphasis is on the effects of these collective processes for cognitive development, rather than on the careful analysis of the collective processes in their own right" (Corsaro 1994:21). It is here suggested that in a sense the focus

group discussions themselves developed into a collective exploratory process facilitated by the use of dilemma narrative and questioning methodology as is described in the separate chapter 'Pedagogical Insights'. Briefly, when asked to give feedback the children responded surprisingly candidly and positively concerning the focus group sessions. From this material of citations described in 'Pedagogical Insights' it was clear that the children were aware of gaining new insights together during the sessions, showed deep appreciation for opportunities to share and unburden themselves. It could therefore argued that for peace education interventions one might consider both the theoretical aspects derived from Corsaro's and others' research as well as the conducive setting of focus group sessions for stimulating collective processes for addressing for instance socially disruptive attitudes and behaviour among children – together with the children. Here is also a future opportunity to further analyse the input provided by the participating children to uncover potential collective processes like those mentioned by Corsaro (1994) and others.

The functional benefit of interactions within children's friendship domain have also been reported: "Friends spontaneously justified their suggestions more frequently than acquaintances, elaborated on their partners' proposals, engaged in a greater percentage of conflicts during their conversations, and more often checked results. Most important, the children working with friends did better than children working with non-friends on the most difficult versions of the task only. Clearly, 'a friend in need is a friend indeed'. The children's conversations were related to their problem solving through engagement in transactive conflicts. That is, task performance was facilitated to a greater extent between friends than between non-friends by free airing of the children's differences in a cooperative, task-oriented context" (Hartup 1996:4). In addition to solving relational problems friends displayed more elevated verbal strategies to solve conflicts and problems than non-friends. As mentioned above, in the same study (Hartup 1996) showed increased number and length of conflictive situations between friends than non-friends. In our study it was noted that both younger and older children would choose to do group work with somebody they like a 'friend' yet the activity would entail a number of agreements and disagreements it can be said. Among younger children if a child would not know how to do a task they would choose to go to a friend to get help, this was not in the happiest mood since the child needing help would be angry that s/he could not do it on his own capacity.

Could these results in part be due to increased interaction and open verbal engagement between friends in comparison to non-friends? Further studies are warranted to dissect conflict resolution dynamics between friends and non-friends in relation to verbal strategies chosen.

The developmental perspective taken by stage theorists like Piaget, Kohlberg and Selman implies that for a child to go from one stage to another without conflict is impossible. As mentioned, in this school of thought children face cognitive conflicts, which when handled properly will propel the child to traverse to the next stage. How is this thinking compatible

with current pedagogical thinking underlying Peace Education interventions? One would suggest that Peace education pedagogues and other educational practitioners who are not aware of this developmental function of conflict are running the risk of missing an important factor in their pedagogy. It is conceivable that conflicts can be regarded by peace educators as something unidimensional and peace education interventions therefore may downplay the constructive potential blended in a conflict where parties are prepared to engage in it. It is possible that peace education scholars, pedagogues or educational staff strive to teach children to avoid conflicts at all costs in accordance with certain assumptions such as conflict is "a disease that must be eradicated" an assumption here criticized by the negotiation scholar Rubin (1983:136). Likewise from the peace education literature Zembylas and Bekerman show concern and criticize one the peace education field's major postulates which is "that 'peace' is the opposite of 'conflict': peace is 'good', conflict is 'bad'. If a strict dichotomy is drawn and any conflict is viewed as evil or destructive, then there will be consequences in terms of whether individuals become able to distinguish between productive and destructive forms of conflict in their lives" (2013:197). In agreement with authors cited above the point taken here is that accepting conflict as an everyday phenomenon could be a way forward when combined with awareness of the learning opportunity in trying to solve the conflict and acquiring attitudes and competencies to manage relational challenges. A child is normally not able to discern growth potential in conflicts. But helping the child to understand that finding himself or herself in a conflict is not necessarily a trespass in itself, which could block the child to try to find a solution, but a tricky situation that needs a solution. Adding these notions in a conceptual framework underpinning peace education strategies could potentiate interventions to convey a realistic and challenging view of conflicts.

The children participating in the current study gave voice to the understanding that conflicts are a ubiquitous phenomenon even occurring in the most intimate friendship relationships. How would these children have received a one-dimensional message that conflicts are inherently bad and are therefore to be shunned using a set of tools provided by the peace educator? Would such a message even have given rise to disequilibrium of structures forming the children's cognitive understanding of conflict handling between friends? Combining the focus group children's expressed opinion that conflicts are commonplace and in general solvable between friends with the developmental psychologists' optimistic view on the constructive impetus conflicts provide cognitive stage progression, one is inclined to suggest that peace education theory and practice could benefit from assessing the utility of implementing these ideas in conceptual models as well as interventions for interpersonal conflict management among children.

To what extent then are children aware of the learning and growth potential of friendship relationships including the conflicts described above? Among the older focus group children there were comments indicating some awareness of the learning opportunities conflict situations could present. Below input provided by a male and a female adolescent:

N5: “Well my end would be that each would know what they did wrong know and accept their mistakes then fix it because one learns from mistakes and if in the end if you have a very good friendship that is supposed to be good friends well then almost anything could be solved and given that it is a minor problem as this… Everyone inside knows that for each the experience can be different to Sebastian could be a good experience to be accepted to Alex that was not accepted each has an experience in one way or another well it can serve for good to each of them” (CS.Middle.Male.14yrs).

N1: “Envy feelings yes sometimes but I let it go and learn to know myself and my capabilities. I felt sadness and bitter a little bit then dialogue starts and then forgiveness. She has to know why my indifference learning to know each other” (EH.Rich.Female.15yrs).

The citations above bring together a number of important aspects related to learning opportunities hidden in conflict situations between friends. Learning from mistakes that conflicts reveals is important. Even more so the insight that friendships can over time increase in mutual understanding and develop the distinctive power to defuse conflicts shows a deeper understanding of the value of friendships as measured by, among other assets, their ability to overcome divisive effects of conflicts.

Having argued that conflict is ubiquitous, is part and parcel of development and that it is important to acknowledge this daily reality so that is being handled non-violently but instead from a peaceful perspective and having illustrated citation from children viewing the friendship relationship as inherently conflict-overcoming, it is proper to add some amendments**.**

The above said does by no means imply that a relational crisis provoked by a conflict is something that is always accompanied by only good effects. A crisis can bring out indeed difficult experiences being that the case conflict in friendship sometimes be very damaging for the relationship causing its dissolution. Conflicts among friends that escalate to a crisis are very challenging experiences where mature negotiation skills are needed and perhaps a mediator could help. Conflict has both faces in interpersonal interactions: concerning friendship it can advance or can break this intimate relationship – and this ambivalence is part of the reality. Accepting the reality of conflict does not mean it will automatically result in a positive learnt experience at the end. Conflict is conflict entailing as mentioned disagreements, antipathy, competition etc., this study displays how the children in a conflict enter a problem then they enter in a crisis and this crisis causes fear and other negative emotions including violence, in sum conflicts are difficult experiences that need the discernment and skill to be handled as to achieve a favourable outcome. Usually educators and pedagogues want to have the tools and believe that there must be tools that can help eradicate conflicts and aim to make it into practise they are good intentions which is good but one needs realism. In sum although conflict is difficult and can end in the breaking of the friendship relationship it does not necessarily means that conflict is evil and evidently some

children discussed the positive side of conflict as a learning experience and finally most of the children argued that conflict between friends was possible to solve.

A particularity of conflicts between friends that surfaced in the focus group discussions was the struggle of dealing with strong mixed and contradicting feelings in terms of loyalty and affection versus frustration and envy in relation to the friend involved in the conflict. The following testimony from a boy in the older age group illustrates this phenomenon:

N1: I would be happy and a little resentful because I feel resentful because I could not get in I feel like anger towards me but I also feel sad because couldn`t get in and happy at the same time because my friend got in (CS.Middle.Male.12yrs).

Similar sentiments were expressed by female participants:

N3: “Well if I would be in the team I would be happy ... But I would be sad at the same time because Alexandra because Alexandra is sad then one gets sad when the other is sad ...” (F.Poor.Female.8yrs).

N2: “I feel bad for her but it was my dream I am proud to be in” (AB.Poor.Female.14yrs).

N4: “Mm ... partly because I would be proud of myself and it was my goal even if I was not accompanied but I would not like it because I lost something that is very sacred to me because I lost and won at the same time then it does not feel good” (MB.Poor.Female.13yrs).

The child is here confronted with the questions whether this relationship is worthy of the compromise to be proudly in the team, the sacrifice or a humbling apology necessary to solve the conflict and possibly also enabling the relationship to survive. This type of emotional tension appears to contain the additional element of weighing the value of the relation, its assets accumulated, with the conflict and its emotional burden. This strain on the individual has been aptly explained by Selman: “For at the heart of friendship is a tension between what is good for me versus what is good for us”. Accordingly Selman provide more insight in this type of ambivalence present in friendships. ”We refer to these opposing needs as the friendship functions of intimacy and autonomy” (Selman et al. 1997:32). One could here suggest that in conflicts between friends, and between long-term friends in particular, this emotional process more intense than in other conflicts, which in turn may apply a stronger pressure on the child to reason about and evaluate his or her motives, commitment and priorities. As development gradually enables children to increasingly enjoy both intimacy and autonomy it is conceivable that the struggle with mixed feelings may augment for children experiencing conflicts with their friends.

Accordingly, Von Salisch studying children’s emotional development states the following: “In best friendship emotion regulation may take place at the level of attributions (or appraisals) as when a friend in this study was more likely to be given the benefit of the doubt when attributing blame for the incident than a classmate” (2001:315). He goes on asserting that the

friendship relationship appears to define and affect what a disagreement is, all that is related to emotion judgement including the intensity of subjective feelings, the way for managing behaviour and the expected long-term outcomes for the relationship (Von Salisch 2001). A conflict seems to provide a magnifying lens to friends encouraging them to 'take a closer look' at the relationship. In contrast, in comparison to a relationship of a lesser calibre the emotional involvement in a conflict may not in the same way stimulate the child to intra- and interpersonal reflection. The exit door is closer at hand by simply walking away from the relationship. The choice is dependent on the perceived value of the relationship as such for the child. Or is it the other way around as Selman's suggests: "In general, the manner in which a youngster resolves these conflicts will determine the quality of his friendships" (Selman et al. 1997:33). It is conceivable that a conflict is handled according to the quality to the relationship and that solved conflicts may enrich existing relationships. The spiral can go both ways.

This notion of the exit door of a friendship brings in a third type of peer-peer relations, that between siblings. In the family cohabitation situation there might be a different relationship between assets and conflict handling where fluctuations in relationship status occur but termination of the relationship is normally not possible. This social configuration is outside the scope of the current study, it would nevertheless be interesting in future studies to compare non-mediated conflict resolution patterns and dynamics between siblings with that of friends.

The picture that emerges of interpersonal conflict hence contains a considerable portion of emotional ambivalence occurring within the friendship domain. Friendship has been already demonstrated by the children's input that it is what children value whereas conflict is a reality among children it is an event or experience that happens to them occasionally. What is problematic is that children do not know that conflict can constitute both a threat to friendship relationships as well as an asset to foster and deepen the relationship when conflicts are handled appropriately (Sharp et al. 1994, Abu-Nimer 1996). Now in the field of peace education in many instances - both theoretically and in practise - this inherent duality of conflicts is not always acknowledged. Instead conflicts are often portrayed as purely negative interactions resulting that in peace education interventions children are taught that conflicts are threats and are to be shunned at any cost. Zembylas & Beckerman illustrate this traditional view generally assumed without question "peace is the opposite of conflict: peace is 'good', conflict is 'bad' (2013:198). Indeed the discussion would be stimulating by furthering the significance of a less dogmatic or antagonistic and more dynamic and constructive view of conflict. Taking a pragmatic stand, children that are informed and enabled to discuss conflict within a framework that explores both destructive and constructive views of what conflict might represent for them in a particular situation are better equipped that those children are taught and left struggling with the understanding that conflict is solely bad.

6.2.4.1. Do Mixed Feelings Stimulate Perspective Taking Development?

Having discussed the multivalent properties of conflicts the question arises whether entertaining close friendship relationships, with the inevitable conflicts they involve, would enhance development of interpersonal perspective taking thanks to the emotional involvement driving more intense reasoning and perspective taking? Selman argues that conflict improves the relationship and develops it further given that the balance between autonomy and intimacy is in place for which interpersonal perspective taking is needed (1997) as well as empathy. And if so, would this enhanced social competence further stronger, more long-lasting relationships generating a positive spiral combining developmental as well as relational components? Youniss affirms that although friends are individuals with different interests and particular goals to defend (1980) it is evident that a proper conflict handling is a pre-requisite for long term friendship relationship (Canary et al. 1995). Now phrasing it differently, would conflict management in close relationships between peers promote psychosocial development, which then facilitates relationship development and expansion? Studies have shown that the relationship between these parameters is not that simple. Some authors such as Selman & Schultz (1990), Corsaro (1981), and Youniss (1980) argue along the lines that the answer is yes and others such as Claes (1992) have argued that conflict contains mainly negative charactestics for the relationship.

There are limits to the number of quality relationships a person can maintain but there may be a possibility to envisage a progression in social abilities in general stimulated by the core of close relationships associated with more intense perspective taking 'work-out' resulting from conflicts within this inner circle of intimate relationships between peers. The current study cannot provide any answers to these questions, but mapping children's social networks quantitatively and qualitatively could together with a developmental assessment of perspective taking competences be an approach to consider for future studies. One inevitable question concerns if this stimulating effect of conflicts within friends includes those conflicts that involve irreconcilable differences between the friends and therefore lead to termination of the friendship status of the relation? Terminated relationships, however painful the experience, may theoretically provide learning opportunities for the children that could empower them to more proficiently handle future conflicts in the friendship domain. The adult and peer support around the child is here likely of great importance to both comfort as well as guide the child's processing of difficult relational 'shipwrecks'.

Diagram 6.2 A Child's Progression of Perspective Taking through Conflicts

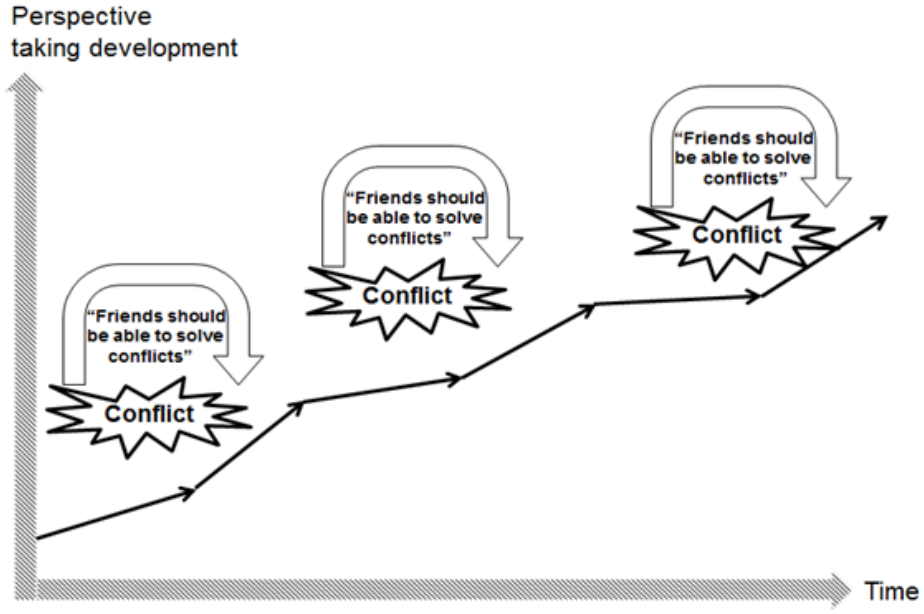


Diagram 6.2: Perspective taking development seen as a function of time fuelled by organic cognitive growth combined with perspective taking exercises during conflict episodes that may temporarily accelerate the perspective taking development.

Having come thus far in the discussion on conflicts in friendship and noted stimulating potential of conflicts in the child's learning about coordination of relationships and perspectives involved it is here attempted to suggest a simplistic graphic representation of processes involved in children's development of perspective taking capabilities through conflicts in friendship relations. In Diagram 6.2 a simple representation of the how conflict handling and progression in perspective taking could be envisaged. A child capacity to take perspective increases organically as cognitive abilities develop (longitudinal sequence of solid arrows). In addition to this developmental dynamic, the social interactions with other individuals, here with focus on peer-peer contacts, exposes the child to situations that spur the child to work through perspective taking models used up to that point. Furthermore, interactions with friends during episodes of disequilibrium – conflicts - invite the child to in-depth evaluation of own motives and those of the friend. In particular the wrestling with mixed feelings i.e. simultaneous appearance of envy and loyalty, which is typical or even specific for the peer-peer relations of friendship type, may promote this process. The open arrows associated with conflict situations in the diagram 6.2 depict the mental 'work-out' process with emphasis of perspective taking of the child in response to the conflict. This exercise occurring during and after a conflict (ideally) steepens the learning curve of the child (solid arrows). The children's testimony that "Friends should be able to solve conflict" is attached to each conflictive incident in the diagram 6.2 to give credit to the children's view on conflict solvability in relation to friendship. The x-axis shows time but the time units are not

specified indicating that no attempts are made to estimate duration of conflict episodes with the child's processing thereof nor of the duration of subsequent growth phases.

This description of children's cognitive development underpinned by the focus group children's own testimonies as well by literature rounds off the section dealing with conflicts in the friendship domain. Next follows a discussion on the focus group children's stated belief that friends should be able to solve conflicts. What are the qualities, the assets in friendship that empower friends to solve conflicts?

The children unequivocally valued long-term friendships more than short-term ones giving the relationship higher priority than letting the conflict take over emotions and actions in a way that could endanger the friendship. Hence, in a conflict the children were more motivated to manage negative feelings toward a long-term friend, or more efforts were made to restore the friendship via dialogue and forgiveness. This relative durability of friendships already at a young age has been observed by Ladd: "This shift was, in part, motivated by evidence indicating that even young children sustain friendships longer than might have been predicted by conventional wisdom or theory" (Ladd 1999:340).

In the thematic analysis the following characteristics of friendship assets were identified: support from friend, loyalty, intimate sharing and trust. This resonates with the definition made by Kurth (1970): "…an intimate relationship involving each individual as a total person. The emphasis on closeness and on awareness of the other as a unique individual as defining characteristics of friendship makes it clear that friendship must develop out of earlier less intimate relations" (Schofield, in Asher & Gottman, 1981:59). Likewise, Heiman provides an overview of aspects connected to the friendship theme: "Friendship can be explained in terms of interaction, a connection between people which satisfies personal needs. Meaningful friendships between children are based on affection, mutuality the willingness to share their innermost thoughts and secrets, loyalty, openness and intimacy; they also involve mutual aid and trust" (Heiman 2000:1). These properties of friendship were indeed put forward by the focus group children as key assets that add value to the relationship and to the individual child.

Approaching the qualities of friendship and still wearing developmentalists lenses of interpretation and analysis Corsaro (1994) reminds the reader the importance of combining the 'Selmanesque' developmental analysis of cognitive development in relation to relationship building with a more down-to-earth understanding of children's interactions. He maintains that the investigator should acknowledge the 'situated nature' of friendship and its different manifestations. In Corsaro's view he argues that developmental psychologists have been concerned primarily in children's knowledge of friendship as an abstract notion or a set of skills that can be labelled and assessed independently from the social contexts in which they develop and or used (1994). This approach is useful for charting the individual child's acquisition of friendship knowledge and skills over the course of childhood. However, it tells us much less about how kids go about making and being friends and how friendship processes are situated in children's everyday lives. When we say friendship knowledge situated we

mean that it, like all social knowledge, develops from social action (doing things with others) in a variety of types of social settings over historical periods. Friends are kids you do things with. Best friends are kids you have a special relationship with, whom you care about and share secrets with. To appreciate this complexity we have had to take seriously the social situations in which friendship knowledge and skills develop. It is therefore proposed that one must embrace the very situated character of friendship, taking part in the situations by seeing, feeling and striving in the best way to comprehend what children's friendships are like during their childhoods (2003). Corsaro envisages a reconnection to children's reality that is both commendable and challenging. A deeper and richer understanding of how children experience friendships will certainly add value to interventions including peace education initiatives aiming to empower children. From a scientific perspective the ambition to "make ourselves part of situations" constitute a classic dilemma for social scientists who strive to strike the balance between objective distance and proximity to the study subject to ensure analytic both clarity and as well as high resolution of observation and involvement, respectively.

The separate chapter 'Pedagogical Insights' sheds some light on the specific focus group methodology used in the current study. Enabling the children to share their experiences and feelings in unprecedented ways according to their own evaluations brought the investigator closer to their reality than anticipated. The reality of the children here denotes the inner reality composed of how they reason and feel about experiences and principles associated with conflicts between friends, which therefore contributed to enhancing the quality of the data gathered.

6.2.4.2. Development of children's perception of friendship assets

A developmental perspective will now be applied also to the concept of assets in friendship. How does growth of perspective taking abilities affect friendships? And do their perceptions of friendship as such change in the first place? Selman's framework explains the importance that children are not just small people but argues that how children reason about relationships is qualitatively different at different ages, and it gets progressively more complex as they reach adulthood. Selman's stage model for friendship during children's development provides helpful overview:

LEVEL 0: Friendship goes from 3-6 yrs and children are describes as momentary playmates friends aiming to enjoyable time together. Children at this stage have very limited ability to see other perspectives.

LEVEL 1: Friendship goes from 5-9 yrs and at this level children understand friends as somebody doing good things for them for example: sharing a treat or helping with a task in class. At this level children care about friends and is viewed as somebody that is closer than others.

LEVEL 2: Friendship goes from 7 -12 yrs. Children are able to take perspective on their friends but not at the same time as taking their own. For example, they understand taking turns such

as being the goal keeper in a football match. It is important to be fair and reciprocal however these friends understand these concepts in an inflexible fashion. For example: When I help my friend with his homework I expect him to help me with something I will not be happy otherwise. If that is the case a risk for conflict in the friendship is at the door. Jealousy is a tendency at this level and can be very challenging for the friendship.

LEVEL 3: Friendship goes from 8 - 15 yrs. and it is characterised by intimacy and mutuality. At this stage, friends value trust confiding secrets and feelings, they also help each other and exchange support and care for each other's enjoyment. These friends have the capacity to negotiation in disagreements and also are able to forget difficulties in the friendship, loyalty is also highly valued.

LEVEL 4: Friendship above 12 yrs onwards, it is described as reaching the level of maturity and demonstrated in high esteem for emotional closeness. These friends are able to accept and appreciate differences that each other exhibit. Openness to relationships other than the friendship they enjoy as well as commitment to remaining close despite time and separations (adapted after Selman, in Asher & Gottman (Eds.) 1981:242-272). Bukowski et al., agree with Selman by stating that friendship develop with age (1996).

The progression portrayed here begins with relatively short and superficial interactions and with increasing perspective taking abilities the children develop abilities to trust, understanding and generosity in increasing measures.

Hence one can say that 'peace' for the younger children is less complicated or easier because it is very materialistic or more functional. For example in our study a girls' focus group discussing about the conflict between the two friends proposed the following:

N1: "Well if you could not be any more with your friend because one has a lot of work and the other is always with her life she should get some more friends more friends to play or in case of an emergency happening to Alexandra" (V.Rich.Female.7yrs)

The proposal above mentioned by the girls was in alignment with the views of younger boys in another group:

N5: "I would find a replacement friend" (MB.Poor.Male.8yrs)

So for younger children in light of Selman's friendship staging model friendships can be momentary and flexible in nature. Also in solving conflict the capacity to reunite easily again is greater. For example children say "You are my friend", then "You are not my friend" and later they say, "Now we are friends again". This flexible disposition makes conflict handling a more amenable experience.

For an older child, on the other hand more trust accumulated during the course of the relationship may be at stake in a conflict. In severe cases one cannot assume that reconciliation will take effect simply by saying "please accept my apology" and shake hands.

According to Selman's model older children friendship developmental characteristics involve this great asset of trust and they care for each other as well as the enjoyment of each other's support is very important. The handling conflict experience in case of for example lack of trust, support or envy could mean that something might have been destroyed and will probably need a very long time and numerous new interactions to re-establish the same level of trust or intimacy as before or perhaps this level of intimacy will never be attained again.

Below older children discussed the complexity of the problem in terms of emotions and assumptions depicted in the dilemma narrative and how that relationship has been affected:

N5: "Well I think there is... anxiety inside because later ...they might meet again but ...but Sebastian [the winner] could try to be proud... Try to be arrogant ... that he is better than no one can overcome him that he has been the hero of this school then so I think." (MB.Poor.Male.12yrs)

The boy cited above goes far in his perspective taking describing a progressive shift in attitude of the winning boy in the dilemma narrative that likely entails alienation and erosion of trust would make reconciliation difficult.

This Reissman and Shorr have observed similar developmental characteristics: "In a developmental study children from grades 1 to 8 wrote about their expectations from their best friends. The results exhibited an increasing level of differentiation according to age expresses by self-centred expectations indicated by stating that 'a friend plays with you and gives you help' to a more socially developed level such as 'a friend is loyal and can be trusted' aspects" (Reissman & Shorr 1978:913). Shantz and Hartup report a similar pattern: "Loyalty trust and intimacy are known to assume significance in friendship relations as middle childhood advances and adolescence approaches" (Shantz & Hartup 1995:206); as does Berndt: "Adolescents often say that best friends tell each other everything, or disclose their most personal thoughts and feelings. These personal self-disclosures are the hall mark of an intimate friendship. Adolescents also say that friends will stick up for one another in a fight demonstrating their loyalty" (2002:7). If quality potential of friendship increases with development, are there quantitative changes as well? Already Green reported this was indeed the case: "The tendency for children to decrease the number of different companions as they grow older, and at the same time to increase the frequency of their companionship with a few individual children, suggests that development in social relationships, like that in physical, motor, and mental traits, proceeds from general to specific" (Green 1933: 251). Friendships vary according to the support each child receive from the other and the measure it is different, one must acknowledge this asymmetry (Berndt in Bukowski 1996) and one must be aware that it can also a conflict cause.

Conflict aspects appear more physical for the young children but emotionally conflicts penetrate deeper in older children. Here, aspects like forgiveness, reconciliation, trust or rebuilding trust also require a deeper understanding by the older children concerning the self,

their roles, their relationships and their lives. Also the capacity to take perspective, including that of a third-person, the understanding of the significance of relational challenges in life in general and with friends could make the conflict experience a more quasi-existential event. For it could be said that at the bottom it concerns the meaning of life for anyone involved in a conflict as reflected by some children above 9 yrs old in the focus groups. It is therefore in the interest of peace education to be aware that conflict may mean a very serious experience to some children where as it can be a momentary event to others.

It is therefore conceivable that the profile of perceived assets also changes as distinctiveness of friendship increases with development. Indeed, Selman et al., asserts that younger children are limited in the way they take advantage of their friendship relationships in comparison with older children or adults (1997). It might be that the younger children have yet to discover the inherent potential of friendships, which in turn could be explained by more limited perspective taking abilities. The assets are not yet discernible.

6.2.4.3. Friendship asset definitions from focus groups

After these exposé of scholarly insights on friendship development in relation to children's development it is time to listen to the voices of children in the focus groups, beginning with the younger group.

The following citation is representative of describing assets in friendship:

N5: "I feel happy for my friend she is good at colouring and she helps me colour." (AB.Poor.Female.6yrs)

A similar functional advantage of friendship is expressed by this boy in the same age group:

N5: "I sometimes help friends in difficult things like a homework evaluation that he does not understand one asks his friend if you can help the other and if you understand then you help a little bit and he understand and they can be friends and also if you are not friends your friends can be best friends". (MB.Poor.Male.8yrs)

Possibly going a step further in defining value of friendship this younger girl shared about trusting the other – albeit in a dubious context:

N1: "Share the bad and good things and to trust even when one is going to do terrible things" (EH.Rich.Female.9yrs)

This statement incorporates more 'mature' relational elements particularly the importance of trust and not being let down by the friend.

In the older age group a more differentiated picture appears in the children's descriptions, which in some cases also indicates the perceived value of the friendship in relation to a conflict. In response to the question on how the dilemma narrative would end this boy belonging to the older age group suggested the following:

N5: “Well my end would be that each would know what they did wrong know and accept their mistakes then fix it because one learns from mistakes and if in the end if you have a very good friendship that is supposed to be good friends well then almost anything could be solved and given that it is a minor problem as this”. (CS.Middle.Male.14yrs)

The understanding of the good friendship as conflict absorbing is clearly stated here and the magnitude of the problem is distinctly less than the perceived value of the assets accumulated in the relationship between the two fictitious friends.

One of the most mature reflections shared by a focus group participant in the current study is shown the following citation:

N2: “We are framed in norms assuming we [friends] have to be always together and do the same; we have different capabilities and that is what makes us better”. (AB.Poor.Female.14yrs)

This statement displays consciousness of prevailing norms in societal context of the child and moreover indicates a critical stance, which implies high levels of social perspective taking abilities and self-assertiveness. As such, the citation expresses a conviction that friendship is not about always being together and doing the same things or being comparable in skills or interests. Differences are here not understood as challenges for the relationship but as potentially empowering in the sense that abilities of a friend may complement those of the other. Although not explicitly expressed, but very likely implied, is the understanding that differences may enrich the friends at a deeper personal level. Concluding from the citation examples above one may discern a pattern where younger children’s understanding of friendship assets incorporate functional rather than relational aspects, whereas older emphasise the relational aspects, which is also in alignment with the research related above.

Relevance of duration of friendship**.** Adding a complementary aspect, it is here suggested that the interpersonal understanding is not only a function of the cognitive advancement of perspective taking, but also of the longevity of the relationship itself. One important asset in friendship that clearly develops over time is the understanding of the other person, his or her way of thinking, preferences and feeling about things and situations, as exemplified by the following focus group citations:

N1: “Because they are childhood friends then they should understand each other. (CS.Middle.Male.12yrs)

N1: “Because they are childhood friends they should understand each other. If they understand each other they could talk and reach an agreement...” (AB.Male.Poor.14yrs)

It may not be surprising that these two very similar citations above were provided by older children from the focus groups, who in theory could have had more time to develop long-term

relationships and the interpersonal perspective taking competence to appreciate this friendship asset of understanding their friend(s).

6.2.4.4. Friendship asset forms and influence conflict management

First, the importance of shared experiences as an asset gained in friendships is noted: "Another important aspect of friendship is those occasions during which children spend time together and encounter new experiences." (Heiman 2000:1). Selman and Schultz also point to shared positive experiences, but add the potential of these experiential assets to 'energize' individuals and relationships intellectually and emotionally, which then constitute accumulated capital to use for in conflict resolution when needed (Selman & Schultz 1990:330). Selman and Schultz discuss these assets in the context of collaboration between peers. It should be noted here that the topic of cooperation as such did not take a prominent place in the focus group discussions and the reason is most likely that the dilemma narrative did not describe shared activities between the friends. The thematic analysis did therefore not pick up this topic. The closest the children came in describing shared activities was in the subtheme 'Assets in friendship' where the code 'Support friend' included notions on helping a friend, but not described in terms of explicit collaboration.

As the understanding of assets in friendship relationship changes over time in childhood and adolescence, and since these assets constitute the very reason for engaging in friendship relations in the first place, it is conceivable that what is regarded a problem or conflict between friends also changes over time. A situation that is regarded a challenge for the relationship among younger children may be dismissed as a small silly thing by more mature friends as shown in the citation below:

N1: "Well if I were Alex I first would have not been angry with my friend because he is my life friend and we have always played and we have always been happy together and because one is accepted and then other not then they get angry and fight over silly things then if I would be Alex instead of fighting I would support my friend would support him and yes I would support him." (V.Rich.Male.Older 13yrs)

Older children expressed the openness of friends to engage in different activities. Always being together is not *per se* defining the quality of the relationship as was more apparent among the younger children. The dilemma narrative contains the element of separation as potentially contributing to the conflict between the two friends. This element is then likely less pronounces among older participants of the current study and could explain the statement quoted above. To further illustrate this point the next citation contains a related reflection from a girl in the same age group:

N1: “I think the end of my story would be that Alexandra and Juliana as they discuss they reach an agreement Alexandra supports Juliana and Juliana tells her to do other things you are very good at other things and that they would be friends again”. (CS. Middle. Female.14yrs)

The prospect of doing different things is here regarded fully compatible with close friendship. Moreover, the discussion taking the form of a negotiation show further skills acquired by the two friends. The choice to use these skills indicates the perceived value invested in the relationship already that motivates this constructive strategy to solve the conflict.

Coming back to the citations (above) expressing the capability of older friends to understand each other, which constitute an important asset, and thereby be able to solve a conflict, this aspect can now be address from a different angle. As discussed in the theoretical chapter of this work, Selman and Schultz have emphasised what they call ‘felt understanding’ I the context of ethical development. This concept entails “emotional understanding in action, a differentiation and integration of the logical and affective aspects of an interpersonal conflict” and “[a] complete ethical sense can be developed only in an individual in whom the positive affective and cognitive aspects of interpersonal development are integrated” (Selman & Schultz 1990:330). This deeper and holistic understanding described by Selman and Schultz appears to bear resemblance with the children’s descriptions of more mature relationships, the long-term best-friendship in particular. Among the adolescents participating there are many who already begin to appreciate the value of developing a better understanding of their friends. One example of when this understanding becomes operational is when conflict handling is facilitated by understanding. Indeed, the understanding (cognitive) could pave the way for empathy (emotional aspect), which in turn could stimulate the will (voluntary aspect) to find a solution. Could this sequence of events taken together correspond to Selman’s and Schultz’ “emotional understanding in action”? If so, it would make sense to discuss assets in groups who interact with one another or even generating a cascade of psycho-emotive events leading to personal engagement in a conflict situation. And the longer the relationship with concomitant asset accumulation and the more mature the friends capable of sufficient perspective taking the more powerful the cascade may become – put simplistically.

Admittedly, this discussion is heavily pervade by developmentalists thinking on children’s perceptions of friendship and associated conflicts with emphasis on cognitive growth and competencies. Selman and other scholars who have been given a prominent place in this discussion have chosen to focus on one of these components, the reasoning lens for their analyses. It is however important to clarify that these are judgement competencies that are significant but do not constitute the only aspect. There are other aspects such as disposition, the character, attitudes, emotions, and the awareness of values. How (or if) these components, which likely contribute to management of conflicts, change over time during the maturation of a child or during the course of a relationship was regarded beyond the scope of the current study, but are nevertheless mentioned here as subjects worthy of further investigation.

Continuing exploring the children's perception of assets in relation to conflict between friends the following citation may illustrate the notion of sharing the value of the friendship and thereby likely to quenching troubled feelings resulting from conflicting interests:

N3: "On Monday when we arrived at school I said to him (friend) something happened and that is that I like this girl then he said me too and then we started chatting and just chatting...We did not talk about it anymore [liking the same girl]." (CS.Middle.Male.13yrs)

Admittedly this is also an example of a conflict that older children may encounter but that younger ones are not to the same extent exposed to. Nevertheless, the current citation depicts friends entertaining amorous interests in the same girl. Moreover, the discovery of conflict of interest was not let to erupt in an open conflict, presumably due to prioritization of friendship protection. Moreover, this was a long-term friendship from early childhood where presumably a substantial amount of trust had been accumulated over time. Perhaps it was this level of trust that enabled the boy to share his interest in the girl and also that enabled his friend to open up about his own interest, despite the competitive situation that had arisen. The subsequent focus group discussion did not however reveal any further steps taken by the boys towards definitely resolving the problem. If the conflict continued to lurk in the background or if it had eroded some of the trust is difficult to tell. Both boys continued to pursue the same girl.

The phenomenon of eroded trust in post-conflict phase adds nuances and complexity to the overarching tenet that 'Friends should be able to solve conflicts'. The following boy cited below explains that although the conflict is solvable it may reduce the best friend status to that of a general friend with implicit devaluation of trust:

N3: "So they reconciled and say now that you are my friend we're not fighting anymore but it is not going to be like best friends we will be acquaintances we will discuss common matters and would be classmates". (V.Rich.Male.13yrs)

The comment from this boy adds complexity to the research topic when penetrated in depth, prompting one to question whether a conflict is really solved if the friendship as such from a qualitative perspective is not. For this discussion no attempt is made to grade friendship relationships according to level of intimacy and trust before or after a conflict. The boy's point is however taken that solving a conflict and even reconciliation may not automatically bring a relationship to pre-conflict status. Likewise, the following female focus group participant in the older age category interpreted the dilemma narrative such that best-friend status of the relationship was irrevocably lost:

"N4: It seems to me that they cannot remain best friends because they have distanced too much each have got in their own things then I think that if they can be friends and can continue to accompany each other but they will not have the same trust as before because they knew that if one achieves the goal that the other also wanted then the other is going to get jealous

then I do not think that's a good thing in a best friend relationship so I think" (EH.Rich.Female.14yrs)

As mentioned the view of the boy and girl above brings a tension to the main result of the focus groups discussions that friends normally should be able to solve the conflict. Only a handful of participants expressed this view however. A follow-up in-depth study on those exceptional children could shed light on factors that shape this line of reasoning on lessened degree of intimacy and trust in friendships after conflicts of the type represented in the dilemma narrative. Precisely trust and intimacy were the assets in a friendship relation that children highlighted through their comments. A developmental aspect could be mentioned here as well. It is plausible that these nuances of friendship quality become more finely graded as children mature and learn ways to share life in more profound ways. If so, then conflicts could with small changes longitudinally modulate relationship intimacy status among the older children. Further inquiries should be made to clarify if or how a friendship relation may move in and out of the 'best-friend' domain as a result of conflicts, asset erosion reconciliations and asset re-accumulation. Associated with this aspect is the question if conflict characteristics vary with the friendship fluctuations mentioned, as well as their psycho-emotive impact on the involved friends.

6.2.5. HANDLING EMOTIONS IN CONFLICT

Two themes were identified as directly related to the difficult emotions evoked by conflicts between friends: 'Negative emotions in conflict' and 'Handling emotions in conflict'. Negative emotions in conflict was defined as 'A wide range of emotions experienced by one or both friends that arise from a conflict between them and that may be mutual (i.e. both are envious) or asymmetrical (i.e. one is envious, whereas the other is sad because of the envy felt by the friend)'. The theme 'Negative emotions in conflict' was itself built on the sub-themes 'Envy', 'Inferiority and 'Violent anger'.

As an initial remark it can here be noted that for the younger as well as the older category of focus group children displayed a remarkable openness to admit difficult experiences and troubled emotional states in this example and in the sessions in general, which is impressive and will be specifically discussed in the chapter "Pedagogical Insights". The children took the opportunity to verbalize these feelings and thereby admitting harbouring such negative sentiments. Though no data describing their openness in 'real life' i.e. the school yard, it is a reasonable assumption that in a manifested conflict the children would not admit envy or the feelings they themselves here associated with envy. Will the experience of sharing such feelings in the focus group sessions lower the threshold for sharing about emotions with friends in conflict situations? The question is rhetoric but the appreciation expressed by many of the children sharing openly could suggest an influence of the discussion that remained after focus group session ended.

6.2.5.1. Conflicts involve negative emotions

Almost all - if not all - conflicts involve negative emotional manifestations of various kinds. It is noteworthy the emphasis given to these difficult feelings by the children participating in the focus groups. The current study focuses conflict between friends and one may therefore ask if friendship status of relationship influences the emotional manifestations in a conflict. Findings on this issue taking a social standpoint close friends also require to learn how to handle disagreements that transpire in the course of normal friendships (Asher et al., 1999). Name-calling by the (best) friend challenged teenagers, for example, to regulate emotions of anger, sadness, hurt feelings, and emotional turmoil or distress which were reported to be more intensive when the provocateur was a best friend than when it was an 'ordinary' class-mate (von Salisch, 2001:315-316). It is here noted that emotional impact was greater when perpetrator was a friend than less close peer. Interestingly, the friendship status was also associated with greater effort exercised by the insulted friend to contain the negative emotions instigated. The conflictive incident apparently instils two seemingly contradictory psycho-emotive processes in the insulted friend, feeling hurt by the insult and striving to contain these difficult feelings, whereby the outcome of his or her processing of these two activities is likely influenced by a multitude of factors.

This older female participating in the focus group discussion provides an illustration from her own experience which does not contain the processes described by von Salisch above:

N3: "Well usually when I fight here with a friend as we get angry we scream at each other sometimes we treat each other badly but it does not last long". (CS.Middle.Female.14yrs)

This example does not describe any process of evaluating the situation and the relationship before reacting aggressively against the offending friend. The exchange of aggression turns both parties to offenders as well as being offended. There is however an understanding that this reactive phase is limited in duration and reconciliation after each conflictive incident is here implied. One could suggest that the processing of the emotional turbulence in relation to the perceived value of the friendship is here done after the reactive phase and before and leading to the reconciliation process. As with von Salisch observations the reflection about the conflict and active containment of negative emotions may be present either directly after insult or before solving the conflict through i.e. a forgiveness procedure.

A citation from one younger group of children will here illustrate the feelings they associate with envy:

I: "Let's see let's think for a moment, close your eyes, when I feel envy what do I feel?"

N1: "It's like anger."

I: "Anger what else?"

N4: "Fight, fury."

I: “Fight.”

N4: “fight, fury.” N2: “Cursing.” N3: “Hitting.” N4: “Offense.”

I: “Hitting when one is envious one thinks of hitting.”

N2: “I claw him.” N5: “Also one sins.” (F.Poor.Male.N1,2,4,5: 7yrs & N3: 8yrs)

Characteristically, these younger children operationalized the emotion of envy in action terms like ‘fight’, ‘cursing’, ‘hitting’, ‘scratching’ and even a transcendental view such as ‘sin’. The step from emotion to action, at least in thought, appears very short indeed.

Based on their study with young adolescents (11-14 yrs) Lavallee and Parker (2009) suggest a positive relationship between relational rigidity, jealousy and conflicts between best friends. The less flexible the participants were the more emotional maladjustment and relational problems were displayed. The dilemma narrative focuses on envy rather than jealousy and it would be very interesting to explore the aspect of inflexibility in the context of envy and the associated emotional dynamics. Are inflexible children also more envious and more vulnerable to troubled feelings toward their friend/best friend? It is here suggested that this is likely to be the case based on the assumption that inflexibility affects perspective taking and behaviour in various relational areas not only concerning jealousy.

Lavallee and Parker’s investigations on childhood jealousy has led them to the conclusion that this phenomenon constitutes “a negative cognitive, emotional, and behavioural reaction” (2009, 873). Translating from jealousy to envy one notices these three aspects in the dilemma narrative already with disappointment and conscious alienation of one of the two friends from the other. In the focus group discussions of the present study however the emphasis on envy was the negative emotional aspect. As a negative emotion, envy appeared to trigger reasoning about the situation, sometimes including reflection and perspective taking about the relationship in a damaging manner. This in turn could lead to reactions in terms of distancing oneself from the friend. More commonly however, the emotional experience of envy could lead to immediate reactions of verbal or physical aggression which in turn could impact the friendship relation negatively – but not always. As shown in the citations from the focus group children above where they shared about difficult feelings and associated abusive behaviour the route from difficult emotion to aggression appeared very direct. The aspect of cognitive processing included in Lavallee and Parker’s description of the situation did not appear as pronounced as the emotive and physicalistic ones as represented in many of the testimonies from the participating children in this study.

Another connection between the notion of jealousy and envy is the oft present perception of low self-worth among children and adolescents in troubled social situations. Lavallee and Parker suggest that low self-worth aggravates the risk of experiencing jealousy between friends, as a friend’s superiority would increase the risk of him or her abandoning their inferior partner (Lavallee & Parker 2009). This notion has been put forward by early researchers in

the field of friendship: “Sullivan (1953) believed that friendship, not peer acceptance was the driving force behind the maintenance of one’s self-worth during the pre-adolescent and adolescent yrs. Sullivan defined friendship as a close, intimate, mutual relationship with a same-sex peer that was distinctly different from other type of social interaction. He believed that it was within the context of these intimate relationships that youth realise their own self-worth as a result of the positive regard shown to them by their friends” (Bishop & Inderbitzen 1995:476).

Inferiority was also manifested in the input from the focus group children and formed a separate subtheme within the Negative emotions in conflict theme, closely related to the subtheme envy. The children identified in the dilemma narrative the problem of the troubled friend as experiencing envy and also inferiority toward the elected friend because of not being elected to the school sports team. As with jealousy it is therefore conceivable that low self-worth could make a child vulnerable to unfavourable comparisons with his or her friend and thereby give space to feelings of envy. These feelings could then further erode self-worth of the troubled child.

The following citation examples from the focus groups illustrate troubled emotions linked to negative self-image and self-worth. Here the focus group participants were asked to take perspective in relation to Alexandra the girl that did not get in the team and is angry:

I: “Would you like to be Alexandra?”

N4: No

I: Why?

N4: You feel like if you are nothing nothing is meaningful as if one would be the ugliest in this world”. (AB.Poor.Female.12yrs)

The following boy further explains his behaviour when feeling unhappy because of a conflict:

“N2: I feel that I am almost nothing I think and say that I leave that I do not want to study more I do not fight not to hurt the friend and well and I do not bother them”. (EH.Rich.Male.10)

The next boy takes perspective in relation to the characters in the dilemma narrative:

“N3: In this case is not that one feels superior than the other the fact is the opposite Alex feels inferior to Sebastian because Sebastian could pass then is not that one feels superior than the other but Alex feels disregarded inferior to Sebastian.” (V.Rich.Male.13yrs)

6.2.5.2. Management of negative emotions as negotiation competence

The second theme, Handling emotions in conflict, was defined as 'Strategies to suppress negative emotions and expressions thereof resulting from a disappointment in relation to the friend (i.e. in terms of friend's success)'. The difficult feelings particularly highlighted by the children participating in the focus groups were envy, feelings of inferiority and violent anger. The most salient approaches to handle these negative feelings were restraining frustration, managing defeat and improving oneself. Often the frustration experienced came from competitive situations where the eagerness to win had to be set in relation to the perceived value of the friendship relation. This value was based on the perceived assets accumulated in the relationship. Denham et al., states that: "Managing how and when to show emotion becomes a crucial issue, as does knowing with whom to share emotion-laden experiences and ideas. Again, emotional competence is key in social success" (2007:3). If maintaining the relationship through emotional restraint can be defined as contributing to 'social succes' then one is inclined to agree with Denham's notion. If quenching emotional turmoil is not followed by ventilating the issues in a friendly but candid dialogue then authenticity and trust levels in the relationship may erode over time however.

An interesting connection between management of difficult emotions resulting from a conflict and conflict resolution is found in the area of negotiation competences. As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, negotiation researchers increasingly emphasise the important of skills that manage intangible aspects of a negotiation process. For instance, anger in negotiations may impede the process as has been noted by Adler et al.: "[Anger] clouds our objectivity because we lose trust in the other side; it narrows our focus from broader topics to the anger-producing behaviour; and it misdirects our goals from reaching agreement to retaliating against the offender" (1998:169). It is easy to see how these insights from the negotiation area may be translated to the conflicts experienced by the children participating in the current study. Anger in a conflict between friends can reduce the ability to assess the severity of problem in relation to the value of the friendship relation and obstruct an open discussion with forgiveness and reconciliation.

Spangle and Warren Isenhart have categorized negotiation skills into three main types denoted Brain, Heart and Courage types skills. Interestingly, to the Heart group of negotiation skills the authors explicitly include the capacity to manage emotions acknowledging the importance of this ability for negotiations. In the context of teaching negotiation skills Olekalns and Brett stress the importance of acquiring social and relation abilities which also includes handling emotions and perspective taking (Olekalns & Brett 2008).

The negotiation research area is linked to the area of conflict research, where negotiation constitutes the conflict resolution tool par excellence. Hence it is not surprising to find affinities between negotiation research in particular educational aspects within negotiation research, and peace education. As for negotiation research the discipline of peace education contains numerous studies highlighting the importance of negative emotions in conflicts.

Oppenheimer for instance, observed based on empirical data the following: These findings suggest that experience of negative emotions (e.g., fear, anger, and rage) has a significant function in identifying others as the source for such emotions and to sense others as menacing and as a potential enemy (2010). It is evident that negative emotions play an important role also with respect to the identification of others as possibly threatening.

Relevant for the discussion on educating management of negative emotions mentioned here as belonging to peace education interventions. In general, peace education theorist Bar-Tal and Rosen suggest that peace education should strive to "construct students' worldview (i.e., their values, beliefs, attitudes, emotions, motivations, skills and patterns of behaviour) in a way that facilitates conflict resolution and peace process and prepares them to live in an era of peace and reconciliation" (2009:559). The influence on the student's emotions is here mentioned as a component of a worldview conducive of maintaining peace. This observation is shared by Harris and Morrison, who calls for dedicated peace education programs containing among other important skills also management of difficult emotions: "Children need formal training in anger management, decision making, social problem solving, peer negotiation, conflict management, valuing diversity, social resistance skills, active listening, and effective communication" (2012:78). The dilemma narrative used in the current study paved the way for the children to explore and elaborate on several of the topics mentioned by Harris and Morrison, including anger management, peer negotiation, conflict management, active listening and effective communication, which were subjects brought up again and again by the children. Likewise, Selman and Schultz mention self-control in the context of negotiation in interpersonal disequilibria or conflicts: "Thus interpersonal negotiation involves potential as well as overt conflict, and very subtly behavioural clues are used to identify contexts in which resistance is not manifest overtly because actors suppress their own desire for the sake of interpersonal harmony, with consequent (but almost invisible) internal disequilibrium" (Selman & Schultz 1990:45). The price to pay for maintaining interpersonal harmony is exacted at the intra-personal level with internal disequilibrium as a result, which in turn calls for exercising restraint. This phenomenon of internal disequilibrium described by Selman and Schultz indeed appears to relate to the mixed feelings friends carry and often wrestle with in episodes of conflict, which the children in the focus groups also shared about. One is here again brought back to the question on building and consuming assets in the friendship setting discussed earlier. Are assets really consumed during a conflict and then again regained during peaceful periods characterized by trust, sharing and engaging in activities together? And are negotiations in this respect not different from other conflict resolution strategies? It is here argued that a constructive negotiation experience with satisfying outcome for both along true integrative lines could itself constitute a positive experience shared by the friends involved.

Abilities to contain emotional disequilibria may develop over time as a child matures as Selman has described (Selman 1980, 1990), which would enable the child to begin refraining from impulsive physicalistic reactions to conflict giving space to reflection and non-aggressive

verbal interactions. These alternative strategies to conflict handling require management of emotions that a conflict may evoke, which in turn requires certain level of perspective taking competence. Negotiation studies with adult subjects have shown that strong emotional displays can be used by the stronger party to influence the weaker party to concede (Sinaceur & Tiedens 2006). In children's friendship arena where the friendship itself may be at stake in a conflict, the higher relational value in terms of assets placed in the relationship the more incentive there is to avoid these dominant or distributive strategies. From a developmental perspective it could be argued that older children with more perspective taking capabilities as well as had more time to invest in trustful friendship relations would be more inclined to choose to manage disequilibria and engage in negotiations or at least constructive dialogues concerning the problem at hand. What actions that friends actually take in a situation is however dependent on many other factors besides the developmentally related ones. As mentioned in the theory chapter, the concept of interpersonal negotiation strategies (INS) Selman and Schultz have suggested denotes the coordination of perspectives in relation to own needs and to those of the other party. The INS model contains developmental levels that are closely related to the cognitive development of the child resulting in perspective taking abilities of various levels of sophistication. Understanding children's behaviour however requires inclusion of a broader repertoire of factors influencing actions in conflictive situations. Selman and Schultz are well aware of these explanatory limitations of their model: "Internal motives and feelings, as well as external factors, evoke, inhibit, or otherwise mediate the extent to which individuals actually use their optimal perspective-taking ability as interpersonal conflicts evolve out of particular social contexts" (Selman & Schultz 1990:49). These additional often situational factors may thus affect the way a child, or any person for that matter, make use of his or her perspective taking abilities.

6.2.6. DIALOGUE IN HANDLING CONFLICT

Having discussed the value of friendship and how this relationship is affected by conflict, negative emotions and how these emotions are managed within the friendship constellation the next focus group theme to examine is Dialogue. Here the focus is set on various features of dialogue particularly in regards to those the children considered conducive of forgiveness and restoration of intimacy.

In the theme Dialogue in Conflict, dialogue was understood by the focus group children as the vital route to solve conflict, mainly due to the conducive setting for exchange of forgiveness. This theme dialogue was derived from the three sub-themes: 'Clarify Problem', 'Roadblocks to talk' and 'Take responsibility'. It appears here that the children deemed the aspect 'Clarify Problem' an important component within the Dialogue construct. The friends need to verbally explain the perceived reason for the conflict anticipating that mutual understanding could be attained (i.e. sad feelings, anger or envy) with the intent to solve conflict. Proceeding with the next subtheme, it was admitted by the children that a dialogue that aims to solve a relational

problem is not without 'Roadblocks to talk'. Here the children explained that there are phenomena that hinder the initiation of dialogue or hinder dialogue to develop into an open and trusting mutual exchange (i.e. rejection, arrogance, fear, dishonesty). Finally, the third subtheme was the need for the actors involved to **'**Take Responsibility' which was specified as the responsibility to make the dialogue effective for solving the conflict' for example by respecting the other.

6.2.6.1. Take responsibility and autonomy

It was apparent that the children viewed taking responsibility for the dialogue process as necessary for successful resolution of the relational issue. The children's citations revealed a clear understanding of what a dialogue requires. The two children in the following citation described their understanding of the concept of dialogue in the context of conflict between two friends as follows:

"I: What is dialogue?

N5: Speaking respectfully...No hurting the person intimately

N4: Talking to one another seriously...For example without laughing and without playing because sometimes you play with the feelings of others" (AB.Poor.Males.13yrs).

The above statements about dialogue as 'speaking respectfully' and 'talking seriously' probably signify a way of treating and showing regard for the other despite experiencing a difficult disagreement. Sentiments from the children along these lines contributed to defining the responsibility of the children engaged in the dialogue, as indicated in the sub-theme Take Responsibility. Instead, the children explained that dialogue entails avoiding revenge in the form of 'no hurting the other 'intimately' neither undermining nor mocking the other's feelings as the conversation can be complex. This respectful stance during an emotional disequilibrium would require a considerable level of maturity. Moreover, applying a courteous attitude would also need an underlying commitment to a respectful friendship relationship.

These three young friends at school had a sharp conflict so that one stopped talking and was really angry with the other two, he seemed to want to divide the relationship and reduce it to two friends only, as this child shared with the focus group. However this child in the citation decided to take action and clarified the problem to each individually so that the guilty one had no choice but to amend. Below the citation:

"N4: Eh I told them and they discussed during the break and they discussed with me and became friends again
I: and now all three are friends and how was that conversation what did you speak about?
N4: I don't really remember but but Alejandro did something to make Chica feel good then they went back to being friends" (V.Rich.Male.8 yrs).

In studying children moral development Killen & Nucci argue that how children resolve conflicts reflect their development of morality. They go on to stating that children solving quarrels through retribution or mediation engage in a different experience than solving a problem through compromise or negotiation where collaboration for meeting personal needs as well as the other's needs is required . Further it is said that their development of autonomy will be shaped accordingly. Children that tend to call for help often when in a conflict do develop a lower sense of self- efficacy where as children that work out conflict without adult intervention foster autonomy (Killen & Nucci in Killen & Hart 1995) even getting the help of child mediators can also create dependency. Considering the case of the three friends mentioned above, an example where autonomy was clearly displayed by the participating child who takes the responsibility to clarify the problem first speaking with the unhappy friends individually to then manage to get them to speak and witnessed the reunification of the relationship. No adult intervened in this conflict rather complicated and to the happiness of the three friends reconciliation was made possible. Thus, learning to take a negotiation approach will likely help the child to develop independence by taking responsibility for his or her own actions in conflicts than children that depend on a third party as mediator.

6.2.6.2. Talk about problem and sharing feelings

As the children were asked what should be done with the dilemma conflict between two friends, they suggested almost unanimously that the two friends should talk to share with one another their problematic ideas, and impressions as well as their conflicting viewpoints. 'Talk about the Problem' and 'Sharing Feelings' thus constituted two additional subthemes within the Dialogue nexus. The focus group children also discussed the importance of sharing own difficult and often contradictory feelings and the complexity of their negative emotions while trying to find a path forward for reconciliation. The focus group discussions on the theme of dialogue between friends in conflict engaged the participating children and resulted in a multifaceted pattern of elements. Nevertheless, the children did not stray from the basic principle that the dialogue should lead to forgiveness because they, the dilemma narrative characters, are long-term friends or childhood friends. The children took perspective on the problem and did also share their own conflict experiences with friends and non-friends during the sessions. Thus, some critical quality attributes of dialogue between friends in conflict begin to emerge. The focus group children emphasised authenticity, transparency, multifactorial exchange and constructed a tangible connection between dialogue and forgiveness.

Taking a philosophical view of the notion of dialogue Buber in his proposition '*I and Though*' (1923) suggests a perspective of dialogue not as a functional endeavour to achieve a goal or just to talk for the sake of airing points of view instead he considers dialogue an essential pre-condition in order to be engaged in a genuine relationship between '*man to man*'. This dialogue must be open, honest and must share mutual commitment. Buber also expresses the importance to resist viewing the other in terms of 'either or', here representing the polarizing enemy perspective that invites a hostile posture in interactions with the other (Atterton et al.

2004). There is hence a considerable affinity between the children's and Buber's emphasis on respectfulness and authenticity dialogue. The important difference here however is that Buber argued that the aforementioned characteristics of dialogue applied to any interaction between people, whereas the children discussed this theme only within a friendship relationship. The overarching objectives of the current study primarily involved exploring children's views about and experience with conflict within the friendship domain. Consequently the focus on friendship relationship was a conscious limitation applied to the focus group dilemma narrative (but not the questionnaire). In line with this strategy the children's understanding of conflicts with non-friends was not pursued in the focus group sessions. Still, as described in the chapter 'Pedagogical Insights' despite this limitation the children gave testimony to substantial perspective modifications as a result of the focus group discussions, and that without the investigator providing any instructions on this topic. It is here therefore suggested that from a peace education interventional perspective it would make sense to begin to discuss with children conflict management between friends rather than trying to from the outset reinforce these dialogue principles for conflicts also with non-friends.

Returning to Buber, are his ambitions upholding the principles for genuine dialogue in *all* interactions at all applicable or realistic for peace education programs? And are Buber's principle's at all desirable in the societal context surrounding the peace education interventions? This road takes the discussion to foundational values, values that may in fact differ between cultures, as to how to take perspective in relation to friends, non-friends and enemies, and such a discussion falls beyond the boundary lines of the current study.

6.2.6.3. Dialogue in Negotiation

Building on the insights gleaned from the children's input on Dialogue as a pre-requisite to engage in handling the conflict, the next step is to explore the relationship between dialogue and the negotiation process as a means to reaching a solution. As in all social interactions communication is crucial also for the negotiation process. As noted by Putnam and Roloff mentioned in the theory chapter, the communicative aspect of negotiation is directed at a conflict of interests in order to find acceptable agreements for the parties involved. Indeed, negotiation and communication are so closely linked that the former cannot be conceived without the latter (Putnam & Roloff 1992).

The subtheme 'Clarify Problem' contained the elements 'Talk about the problem', 'Share feelings', and 'Understand the other'. Beginning with the 'Talk about the problem' this child describes a conflict of interests between him and a friend that also constitutes a potential relational challenge for them both:

"N1:... let's say I have a friend who is called Barrios and he plays (football) a lot... and because sometimes they choose him and sometimes I am chosen then yes it causes us to feel envy but we play anyway.

I: When you say it causes us envy then how do you handle it?

N1: No [Well] because he and I talk and we say we will play to goals and so and so and then we take turns" (CAH.Poor.Male.14yrs)

The steps of the negotiation process outlined in the citation would then be the following:

1. The conflict arises from competition over an unmet need: To be chosen to play in the football team
2. The boys experience negative emotions in the form of envy if not chosen
3. The boy or both boys decide to manage negative feelings instead of spontaneously reacting fuelled by the negative feelings
4. The two friends choose to discuss a how to find a mutually agreeable solution
5. A solution in the form of a compromise is suggested involving taking turns, which is probably based on a formula established and proved successful in previous conflicts of this kind
6. An agreement is reached
7. The two boys operate according to the conditions defined showing compliance to the agreement.
8. The friendship relationship continues

The outlined process above contains all canonical elements of a negotiation process and it seems to have been established through recurring negotiation situations. A number of questions arise when considering the negotiation process described above. From where or how did the boys learn this strategy? What levels of INS are required to be able to construct, follow and comply with this negotiation process? What situational factors determine whether this strategy will be applied or not? To what extent has this repeatedly utilized approach contributed to maintain the friendship relationship intact? Would this strategy be considered when competing with a non-friend? Further interviews with this boy could shed some light on these aspects and in particular on the relational gains achieved through this negotiation strategy.

Interestingly, not much is said or implied by the boy above concerning applying mutual understanding, sharing feelings, empathy etc. in order to solve the conflict. The involvement of communication seems to be held at a bare minimum. Still, the verbal interaction fits for instance Putnam and Roloff's observation on 'negotiation communication' argue that the difference lies in the fact that this particular form of communicating targets apparent disagreements and by using a variety of strategies and manoeuvres focuses on attaining an equally satisfactory settlement for the actors involved (1992). In addition, no forgiveness process is involved, most likely because the negotiation process defused the conflict before any offense was committed. The friends seem to follow 'the script', leading to a pragmatic solution acceptable to both of them.

In other examples found in children's citations the importance of shared feelings and understanding of the other in an empathetic way, sometimes in combination with a sense of assertiveness. Two older girls from either city shared their perspectives on communicating difficult emotions as a constituent of the dialogue in conflict in the contexts of the dilemma narrative and form own experience, respectively:

"N2: It's like expressing what the other felt when the other got in the team and that when he tells the other what he really felt then the other can understand and will know what to do." (V.Rich.Female.12yrs)

"N2: Anybody can experience envy my friend felt a lot of envy she told me and I tried to understand her but we learn to forgive because it was a long-time friendship." (EH.Rich.Female.14yrs)

The two female examples above portray conflicts that have progressed further than in the example of the negotiation boys above. The resulting difficult emotions have created an offense and reconciliation would be the only way forward to solve the conflict. In the second example the forgiveness strategy is regarded necessary for a solution. Here, communication of difficult emotions and listening to understand is considered at a deeper level and empathy is clearly required for the exchange to be meaningful. Do these examples describe negotiation processes? At least in the first case the deeper understanding gained through intentional listening and enabled through the acquired perspective taking abilities appears to pave the way for finding a solution. It here suggested that the following sequence of events:

1. A. Managing negative feelings
2. A. Decision to share feelings
3. B. Decision to listen in order to understand
4. A. Decision to ask for forgiveness
5. B. Decision to forgive
6. Hypothetical: A. + B. Decision to try to find a practical solution
7. Hypothetical: A. + B. Subsequent negotiation steps (see boys' negotiation scheme above)

One can here thus identify two types of dialogue and negotiation process, one where no forgiveness is needed but negotiation can commence directly, and the second where forgiveness is required for beginning the negotiation. The differences here relate to the occurrence of an offence in the conflict situation. This relates to Selman and Schultz' distinction between potential and overt conflict and the management of emotions: "Thus interpersonal negotiation involves potential as well as overt conflict, and very subtly behavioural clues are used to identify contexts in which resistance is not manifest overtly because actors suppress their own desire for the sake of interpersonal harmony, with consequent (but almost invisible) internal disequilibrium" (Selman & Schultz 1990:45). Adopting this terminology it is here suggested that an offense transforms a potential conflict

to an overt conflict, which in the friendship domain needed the exchange of forgiveness for its resolution according to the focus group children.

The second type therefore is more likely to require a deeper level of communication where sharing of hurt feelings and listening with active perspective taking precede forgiveness.

This aspect of reconciliation before negotiation is rarely discussed by negotiation authors with business settings in mind. With or without reconciliation preamble communication constitute a key parameter for the negotiation. When communication in dialogue and negotiation for various reasons needs to incorporate intimate personal disclosures like in the examples of the girls' sharing of hurt feelings above a higher level of trust is mobilized. This is also an example of considerably rich mode of communication, which is in something to be promoted since it facilitates perspective taking and understanding of the other person according to the negotiation researcher Lewicki (Lewicki et al., 2011).

As mentioned in the theory chapter, trust has been described as a key element in friendship (Bukowski 2009). Within negotiation research the importance of trust and communication have been suggested by Zand (1972), who defines trust as willingness to risk increasing one's vulnerability. Rich meaningful communication including own descriptions of own emotional states etc clearly exposes the individual to potential abuse, but can also enrich a friendship relationship where trust is expressed and honoured.

The aspect of trust is exemplified below as this girl's expresses fear of opening up which obviously hinders her from entering the dialogue:

"N5: Well often fear happens when we do not feel comfortable with that person when we need to talk and the feelings that exist towards that person" (EH.Rich.Female.15yrs)

In this case it seems the friendship has not developed enough trust so that this girl feels she can open up her feelings to her friend. Alternatively, this girl is not confident in herself to be vulnerable in sharing the negative feelings that are affecting the relationship reducing the quality of communication. Besides friendship trust is also relevant aspect in conflict handling to achieve good negotiated resolutions in all type of relationships.

6.2.6.4. Communication and peace education

The peace education literature displays a plethora of research on communication skills believed to facilitate addressing conflicts and other problems occurring at different levels including: communication for settling conflicts (Harris 1996, 2011), communication necessary for cooperation (Johnson and Johnson 2010), and for enhanced cooperation (Synott 2005), non-violent communication for compassionate communities (Carter 2002), thoughtful dialogue about controversial issues (Bar-Tal & Rosen 2009) and dialogue for removing stereotypes (Danesh 2006). Despite the variety of conflict contexts the emphasis on

interpersonal communication runs through as the red thread. In situations where settlements are needed this emphasis on interpersonal communication seems sensible in order to prepare for a subsequent negotiation phase. How can these insights be translated to the children's friendship domain? In the preparation of the current study no publication on interventions addressing conflicts between friends was found by the way within the peace education discourse.

Some of the focus group children did actually express having difficulties to talk about conflicts and troubled feelings during the sessions.

I: How did you like the story?

N4: Nice about God like friendship about friendship about harmony

N4: …you missed asking me about what was difficult

I: What was difficult from the story then tell me

N4: For the hard part is that feelings that it is difficult to express feelings they are something hard to express (EH.Rich.Male.9yrs)

Interestingly, many children also mentioned that the sessions themselves, despite that no educational ambition had been attached to the focus groups, had somehow enabled them to share more openly than previously (this is discussed in the Pedagogical Insights chapter). It seems that the communication taking place in the focus groups sessions was perceived as unusually rich by the children themselves. How could this be achieved without learning communication skills or listening skills in association with the focus group sessions? If this enhancement of communication was not due to formal skills learnt then what was the underlying cause? Speculating, one could suggest that the focus group sessions allowed a conducive environment to develop which facilitated for the children to remove self-imposed hindrances to sharing at a deeper level. This enriched sharing was also very much appreciated by the children themselves. One could question whether these sessions could be labelled 'Peace education' since no formal teaching was actually performed. But on the other hand the children claimed to have gained new insights so in this sense the sessions contained important learning experiences. Some children admitted they had learnt from other children during the course of the discussion. In a wider sense one might therefore suggest that the focus group sessions did contain elements of peace education.

6.2.7. FORGIVENESS

After having discussed about conflict in friendship the next theme to examine is that of forgiveness that occupied a prominent place in the children's focus group discussions. The reason why to elaborate a discussion in the forgiveness theme and for discussing what was

presented as difficult mental, affective and behavioural process is twofold: primarily is the reduction of violence and closely related is the maintenance of the friendship relationship.

In sum the data showed that resolving a conflict requires asking for forgiveness, receiving forgiveness and forgiving whereby an agreement is reached to close the conflict. The friendship may or may not be restored to pre-conflict status but the conflict has reached an end. Forgiveness therefore will be here discussed around main themes constructed in the thematic analysis as follows: Genuine forgiveness and Together again.

6.2.7.1. What is forgiveness?

McCullough relates to forgiveness as a prosocial action in which a person expresses desire to change after having misconduct (2001). Further, forgiveness can be separated into the two essential elements naming the offense and condemning it, and not counting the offense against the offender but rather cancelling any debt (Wolf 2005). To further define forgiveness more precisely Enright provides some helpful distinctions in that forgiveness is not legal clemency, reconciliation neither condonation nor excusing: It is not justification, self-centring not inactively letting anger to fade away with time (1991). McCullough and Worthington suggest parallel boundary lines around the concept of forgiveness: “Furthermore, behaviours such as reconciliation, pardoning, excusing, and altruism should be seen as consequences of, not part of, forgiveness. Similarly, revenge and restitution seeking can be consequences of but not part of, un-forgiveness” (1994). Forgiveness according to this understanding constitute a separate process that may lead to effects in the relationship between the parties involved, ideally leading to restoration of the relationship as well as improved relationship interactions in the future. It is an active process initiated by the choice to forgive that is distinct from hiding, suppressing or explaining away a trespass. Examining the input from the focus group children the statement of the young boy below captures several elements involved in or resulting from the forgiveness process:

“N3: That means one asks for forgiveness for punching you in your face and that I also hurt you and then he says I forgive you then I say good let's play and he says yes best friends and that is it” (F.Poor.Male.8yrs)

The physical offense in this example is followed by the offending boy asking for forgiveness with concomitant granting of forgiveness by the offended child. In agreement with McCullough and Worthington the actual forgiveness process is here regarded as completed (1994). The subsequent friendship restoration and continued shared activities are direct results of the forgiveness process and signs of its success.

The following girl provides the perspective from the offended side of the conflict:

“N2: Forgiving the offense the other does to us for example to forgive when she insults me obviously it was wrong then I forgive her” (EH.Rich.Female.14.yrs)

This example also depicts a complete forgiveness process involving making the conscious choice of the offended friend to forgive her offending friend. Despite the seemingly straightforward and naïve description, it is noteworthy that she makes the point that 'it was wrong' implying that the action should not have not been done. There is no attempt to excuse the offender or play down what was incorrect in the incident which is in line with the definitions mentioned above. There is no hint of framing herself as victimhood and in opposition after she has granted forgiveness for a true trespass.

With this basic framework in place the conditions for forgiveness to be operational will now be discussed with emphasis on the centrality of being genuine. The sub-theme 'Being genuine is important' was defined as 'True forgiveness - given or received - involves deep convictions and transparency'. The children's views expressed awareness of the importance of 'true forgiveness' either being given or received, and as one child expressed it: True forgiveness is "born in the heart".

Below, these two children are clarifying what forgiveness means to their classmate who after having received forgiveness repeatedly went back to the same aggressive behaviour and therefore he continually is in need of asking for forgiveness. The two classmates commented on this phenomenon the following:

"N4: It's as if they were friends and then forgive again and on and on (fighting continually)

N5: That would not be a true forgiveness instead forgiveness would be fake…Because when one asks for forgiveness it has to be heartfelt and has to be real

N4: it must be a heartfelt forgiveness" (F.Poor.Males.7yrs)

The boys' statements show a link between lack of behaviour change and perceived lack of authenticity when asking for forgiveness after trespasses. Interestingly the offender related to in the comments above was the same boy who provided the first and perhaps simplistic citation in this section of forgiveness. Did his description reflect carelessness in the usage of forgiveness to restore friendships or is each repeated attempt to receive forgiveness accompanied by true remorse and willingness but inability to change behaviour? At this young age it is more difficult to discern developmentally related and justified naivety and being 'fake'. His friends comments on his behaviour above did not contain notions concerning his appearance when he approached them for forgiveness, but rather the more easily discerned continuation of his offending behaviour.

In this context one may consider Paul Tillich's notion that "it is not repentance that creates forgiveness but forgiveness that creates repentance" (in Lamb & Murphy 2002:99). If repentance denotes the offender deciding out of remorse to approach the offended to ask for forgiveness then this stands in contrast to Tillich's understanding. If on the other hand repentance involves visible attempts by the offender to reform his or her behaviour after forgiveness has been granted Tillich's statement makes more sense. It is here suggested that

both forms of 'repentance' pre- and post-forgiveness constitute a common everyday experience, which again would put Tillich's straightforward statement in question. This could in theory also be the case for our troubled boy who repeatedly offends and asks for forgiveness, but we do not know. His two friends did obviously not regard this as a plausible explanation. In contrast to the interpretation shared by these two boys above it is here suggested that a pattern of recurring offenses committed by individuals may not per se disqualify the request for forgiveness as being dishonest or half-hearted. Therefore further investigations including interviews with the offending boy alone could shed more light on his deeper motives.[13]

The concern of fake requests for forgiveness was also voiced by the girl below:

"N2: I don't want to forgive her

I: You don't want to forgive her, why?

N2: I feel like a coward like as if I would have let her do whatever she wanted" (EH.Rich.Female.10yrs)

This girl feels decimated by granting forgiveness fearing the offending friend would take advantage of her. On the one hand this constitutes an example of self-assertiveness in the sense of drawing the line for acceptable behaviour compatible with the friendship relationship. Forgiving in this view reveals weakness. On the other hand her understanding shows a confluence between forgiveness and condoning the offense. According to this young girl the process of forgiving hence involves in principle tolerating the action despite being a real offense. In contrast, Enright et al., have proposed that forgiveness can in fact be dissociated from condoning or excusing a transgression (2007).

Nietzsche's claim that "[F]orgiveness is only for the weak who are unable to assert their right to a just solution" is as Enright argues a type of "pseudo forgiveness. (Enright 1994:64).

When it comes to forgiving despite insufficient sincerity expressed by the offender asking for forgiveness Enright et al. make the following observations: "Forgiveness is a person's internal,

[13] The child in view (N3. F School. Male.8yrs) belongs to a family comprised of twelve brothers and sisters and the two parents in total fourteen members all of them living in a very small room obviously under the poverty line conditions. One brother that is twelve yrs old is a drug addict. The child in discussion although living deprived conditions has gone through a process of reformation since two years when he joined the Filadelfia Christian School, at that time it was common and normal for him to kick and bite the teachers also. Today the child disrespect the teachers rarely and have been socialised in respect for others therefore he is aware that it is not normal to punch or bite his classmates, he can ask for forgiveness but still struggles with anger management which makes his relationships difficult at school the causes can be logically linked to his ecological environment, one could argue (Source for this information: obtained from the school headmaster).

psychological response to another person's (or people's) injustice. A person who forgives reduces resentment and offers beneficence to an offender, without condoning, excusing, or forgetting. A person who forgives may or may not reconcile with the offender, depending on the trustworthiness of that offender" (2007:4). The authors here operationally disconnect forgiveness from reconciliation as the former may in their view be accomplished without the latter. This scenario stands in contrast to the vast majority of the comments provided by the focus group children. In their view true forgiveness was accompanied with restoration of the friendship relationship. Only in a couple of cases (older and rich category) forgiveness without friendship restoration was mentioned from these children's own experience. The relational damage was regarded by the two friends as not repairable, but forgiveness was nevertheless the chosen path forward enabling normal companionship. The decision to detach from one another as a result of previous conflict(s) shows a significant amount of self-awareness and self-assertiveness. Briefly relating to Selman's and co-workers developmental models one could here suggest that from an INS perspective this behaviour could imply another-transforming inclination of both parties. In comparison, a self-transforming person would be more likely to passively adapt to the fluctuations of relationship level of intimacy as determined by another-transforming friend. (Selman 1990)

The view advocated by Enright et al. above that forgiveness and reconciliation entail two separate but linked processes could be reconciled with the children's general understanding shown above that these two components indeed do represent two functionally different components of the restoration of a friendship relation. It is here suggested that for children with less developed perspective taking abilities this distinction would be more difficult to discern. It was noted in the previous paragraph that the two children who elaborated on forgiveness and incomplete reconciliation were both adolescents. For the majority of the children on the other hand true forgiveness was intimately linked with reconciliation meaning restoration of friendship quality as mentioned earlier.

At this point an additional element to the 'forgiveness – reconciliation process' can be added, that of forgetting the offense or problem that had occurred between the two friends. As stated in Lawler-Row et al., was identified as a particular mental mode of giving up "forgiveness is forgetting" (2007:244). From the perspective of the offended child forgetting in a sense is a form of forgiveness and constitutes 'seal' of the forgiveness just granted. In other words, the offended needs to mentally distance himself or herself from the hurtful incident.

The young child below suggests the need that all negative events are to be forgotten the question: is his approach as passive as mentioned above or is he practical in his wholehearted 'forgetting' approach and ready to move on.

"N3: Forget everything that happened before everything that was bad" (AB.Poor.Male.8yrs)

The importance of forgetting for both parties involved was repeatedly emphasised by focus group children as shown in the selection of citations below from three different sessions:

"N5: Forget all that happened between them and start again building the friendship little by little" (MB.Poor.Female.14yrs)

"N4: If seems to me that is the most obvious thing to achieve a good reconciliation as my friend says then forget things because if you forget is forgotten" (V.Rich.Male.13 yrs)

Forgetting appears from these citations as a straightforward process. The important observation is however that both younger as well as older children have attained the insight that forgetting the difficult past is necessary for continued friendship after a conflict. Inability or reluctance to forget is not regarded compatible with granting forgiveness, as exemplified by the older girl below:

N1: ...think better and see if you can forgive or not because if you keep record of wrongs it is better not to forgive. (EH.Rich.Female.15yrs)

Taking a closer look at this girl's statement the offended individual face to face are two choices: the choice to forgive and the choice to forget, where the latter negatively (or positively) may influence the former. It is hence a decision for the involved parties to take after the forgiveness has been granted and received.

To conclude, whereas forgiveness can be seen as an asymmetrical exchange where the forgiver and the forgiven assume different roles and responsibilities, the responsibility and resolve to forget rests on the shoulders of both. The cognitive and emotional processing thereof is likely to differ between the two however.

A citation from an older girl follows the same line here when she explains sincere forgiveness and also includes a further aspect with regards to insincere forgiveness:

"N4: Concerning forgiving each other because it is worse obviously if it will not be a sincere forgiveness without rancour without hatred or anything because when it is a forgiveness that does not come from the heart and that she doesn't want to grant it is better not be granted otherwise they will continue with all that kind of stuff and then the other person (offender) will feel attacked" (EH.Rich.Female.15yrs)

This older girl above reasons about sincere forgiveness and the choice to renouncing to hold rancour and hatred, she asserts that the heart must be involved '*when it is a forgiveness that does not come from the heart'* it is better not to grant forgiveness because otherwise it is likely that the offender after having asked for forgiveness will feel attacked and the conflict will continue. Further, what the child argues is that the roles and effects could here get reversed because the offender having asked for forgiveness after rejection may become a victim, an object of 'attacks' from the former offended person who has not renounced negative emotions and thereby hinders sincere forgiveness. Apologies must be genuine and not manipulative otherwise they can rebound resulting in retaliatory actions from the offended party (Skarlicki et al. 2004). The backfire problem from the offended friend is the argument

that the girl above is posing. In the same line, different versions of limited or insufficient forms of forgiveness have been described by McCullough and Worthington (1994) who has identified 'role-expected', 'expedient', 'detached', or 'limited' forgiveness typologies. Likewise, Enright (1991) call this phenomenon 'pseudo-forgiveness' denoting a purely rational action by the offended party not sufficient for offering genuine forgiveness which captures aspects of Worthington's versions of incomplete forgiveness.

In contrast to incomplete forgiveness one would here with Denham (2005) suggest that it is fundamental for the 'true forgiver' to involve his mental, emotional and motivational capacities for changes regarding the offender. In the citation above the younger children state that 'true forgiveness' requires more than the rational acceptance of the offence it includes the heart and a real change. Accordingly, true forgiveness comprises a committed wilful process which effects account for a genuine and deep emotional change toward the individual or event that was previously regarded as destructive, wounding, hateful, or degrading. Here forgiveness is clearly presented as an intentional choice to transform negative emotions towards an offender into the initiation of some kind of positive emotions which could be an interpretation of what the child above said forgiveness 'has to be real'. Denham explains this attitudinal process that follows the decision to forgive as follows: "Importantly, one removes oneself from the negative emotions directly related to the transgression. Over time, there is a motivational transformation, including a reduction in negative motivations and an increase in constructive motivations toward the perpetrator. The forgiver may be motivated toward positive social behaviours toward the offender" (Denham et al. 2005:129). Such a stance is then it seems the opposite to the rancour experienced by the victim, as explained by the older girl above. Denham envisions a behavioural change on the part of the offended, which is interesting as most of the discussions on forgiveness focus the changes expected by the offender. It is here suggested that this progressive change in attitude and behaviour by the offended individual toward the offender is dependent first of all on the choice to forgive obviously, but then a conscious posture of benevolence reinforced by multiple decisions to maintain this course.

In sum, the children participating in the focus groups appeared very sensitive and discerning concerning lack of sincerity on behalf of both the offended as well as of the offender. For forgiveness to 'work' there is a need for authenticity, which is of course the case for the social configuration of friendship itself in which the offence has occurred. The focus group children unanimously rejected the idea of simply using the formula 'I forgive you'. If there still is underlying anger and resentment there is no true forgiveness. Here a deeper intrapersonal level of processing forgiveness is manifested as needed and it is demanded in order to be coupled with the external verbal expression of the action of forgiveness.

6.2.7.2. Who asks for forgiveness?

No consensus was found among the focus group children concerning who was the offender in the dilemma narrative, which was a quite an unexpected finding. The intention with the narrative was to depict the child not selected to the sports team who therefore distanced himself/herself from the selected and 'winning' friend as the offender who should apologize. Instead the focus group material display a mixture of opinions in regards to who the offender and who the offended is in the dilemma discussed among both older as well as younger children. Somewhat surprisingly a number of children argued that the offender was not the friend who stopped to talking to the other but instead it was the 'abandoned' winning friend, despite his/her attempts to reconnect with the friend (winner). The arguments used by the focus group children differ. For the younger children is more straight forward and simplistic. The child who is sad is he/she who has to be comforted and brought back to the relationship by the friend who is the winner. Although the winner is also sad because his friend does not talk to him it is expected of him to ask for forgiveness to his friend (looser). As the citation bellow illustrates this aspect:

N1: Considering "They meet and look at each other then Juliana who has the basketball then she says that she recognizes her mistake and says to Alexandra forgive me I admit my mistake and I feel sorry if you want we can continue to be friends, forgive me please forgive me and let's be back to being friends" (V, Rich, Female, 7yrs)

For this girl it is the winner and the 'formally' offended friend who should ask for forgiveness to her friend who had stopped talking to her because of not being selected to the sports team. It is according to this interpretation not clear however what the actual offense entails for which forgiveness is requested. It seems that for this girl the winner has the responsibility to restore her friend who has distanced herself, perhaps it is assumed that the winner is the stronger and therefore is positioned to offer an apology to 'comfort' the disappointed friend, perhaps in combination with emphasising a desire to continue the relationship with the sole purpose to 'be Back to being friends'. If so then the forgiveness process contains a different element not mentioned in the scholarly definitions related above. The procedure would then serve the purpose of appeasing a troubled friend irrespective of being guilty of an offense.

6.2.7.3. Perspective taking and empathy

Related to the aspect of being genuine in order for forgiveness to solve conflicts it is here suggested that true forgiveness also requires some amount of perspective taking and empathy from both the offender as well as the offended. Indeed, perspective taking and empathy could be required for genuine forgiveness in the first place, or at least empathy as a moral emotion that can facilitate forgiveness according to McCullough (2001).

Examples of perspective taking in the context of forgiveness are found among the focus group children. Beginning with remarks portraying the perspective of the offended:

N1: Forgiveness is to forgive is an act of forgiveness. Forgiveness is a heartfelt word that one feels for the other person that one wants to forgive the other person what she did or for doing something wrong (CS.Poor.Female.8yrs)

A deep emotional engagement is likely expressed by this child when she describes 'forgiveness' as a "heartfelt word" and that "one feels for the other person that one wants to forgive". The picture that emerges shows empathy constituting a receptive emotional state that facilitates perspective taking on the offending other. The stimulus that sets off this chain of events leading to compassion and in many cases endowing the capacity for granting forgiveness seems to be the very act of asking for forgiveness by the offender. McCullough particularly argues that the impact of 'apologies on victims' seems to influence significantly the forgiveness that victims' empathy experience for the offender (2001). And Worthington observes a similar relationship between forgiveness and empathy: "When transgressors apologize, they implicitly express some degree of fallibility and vulnerability, which might cause victims to feel empathy, thereby motivating them to forgive the transgressors. Also, research on psychological interventions designed to help people forgive specific transgressors has revealed that empathy fosters forgiveness. Indeed, empathy for the transgressor is the only psychological variable that has, to date, been shown to facilitate forgiveness when induced experimentally" (McCullough 2001:196). The discussion here obviously revolves around genuine or true forgiveness. Incomplete or 'fake' forgiveness as discussed above would not involve let alone depend on perspective taking or empathy felt by the offended individual. Below from the perspective of the offender, this young girl provides a remarkably profound statement in this respect:

"N1: And also to ask for forgiveness is like one would feel what other person feels" (V.Rich.Female.7yrs)

The perspective taking exercise is here performed this time by the offender and it appears to take place just prior to the forgiveness process, possibly motivating the offender to take the first step. One could here suggest that this perspective taking is related to or even intertwined with feelings of remorse, provided the offense constitutes a conscious breach of accepted norms of behaviour. In relation to the offended the perspective taking by the transgressor may open him or her to feelings of empathy for the offender or victim. Both emotional fluxes, remorse and empathy, may run separately or concurrently reinforcing one another, but this is here difficult to determine with certainty. Both emotive aspects are however most likely dependent on perspective coordination capabilities gained through cognitive development and external influences.

One could here also speculate if conflicts with subsequent forgiveness processed actually can stimulate perspective taking development and empathy. Would the little 8 year-old girl cited

above know “heartfelt” concepts, and the 7 year-old “feel what the other person feel” without conflicts, and conflicts within the friendship domain in particular? Through friendships the child begins to learn to trust peers and experience the joy of shared activities and intimacy (Youniss 1980) and this happens outside the family. Also in this realm of friendship relations conflicts exposes the child to learning experiences. Shantz argues that through these conflicts children learn about how friendship is formed, what reciprocity entails and about the emotions involved among other themes (1993). In the dataset of the current study it appears that the children experience emotional ache in conflicts that they need to handle cognitively, emotionally and behaviourally. The act of asking for forgiveness appears to be prompted by this pain caused by acute relational damage in combination with the remorse-empathy driver just mentioned. The forgiver on the other hand is confronted with the pain of the offense itself as well as the relational damage. Developed perspective taking then could enable the two friends to relate to each other’s emotional struggle objectively and emotionally through empathy so that a complete forgiveness can be felt by both.

6.2.7.4. Together again

The final sub-theme within the ‘Forgiveness in Conflict’ theme was ‘**Together again’** defined as ‘Resolution of conflict leads to restoration of relationship with emotional release and relief’ from the damaged caused by a negative behaviour.

As already discussed conflict is omnipresent in relationships and it is manifested in envy, fight for status, disloyalty, gossip, power control etc., negatively affecting the friendship relationship and it is here where forgiveness was mentioned by all the children in the focus groups as the only mechanism capable of restoring the friendship relationship which was esteemed above all. According to McCullough forgiveness stimulates the permanency of the relationship because it facilitates the repairing of the misconduct or aggression (2000). Thus the role of forgiveness in a friendship relationship and moreover in the promotion of prosocial behaviour is a very important one. Now let us look at how the children responded to offenses.

One aspect of the conflict is the negative consequences it carries nevertheless it is argue that many relationships are not destroyed by these offences (Tsang 2006). As manifested by these children both older and younger:

This girl shares about her conflict with an envious friend and choosing to take perspective on her problem. She demonstrates that the friendship is above the problem and sheltered it from breaking up. It is the long-time relationship that makes this girl to avoid anger or rejection of her friend. On the other hand it shows maturity from both sides to openly dialogue about the problem of envy.

“N2: Anybody can experience envy my friend felt a lot of envy she told me and I tried to understand her but we learn to forgive because it was a long-time friendship” (EH.Rich.Female.14yrs)

This younger child presents a more emotional forgiveness experience with his friend but also his clear resolution to restore the friendship and he goes further to promise no more fights he is obviously expressing a good ideal permitted for his age as he is ignoring that conflict is unescapable. Moving on, Exline (2004) affirms that closeness in a relationship is shown as positive indicator in readiness to forgive, in this case the young boy feels like born again through the forgiveness experience that led his back to his friend

“N3: So it`s like I [was] reborn again to be reborn as a friend we agree to remain friends forever and I will never fight again” (CS, Poor, Male, 8yrs)

Still forgiveness is more complex that it sometimes seems to some children particularly to the older as noted by the girl below who provides an analysis of the situation given the context in which the transgression is manifested. Distance, distrust envy and jealousy are factors that in her view will not be easily overlook neither good components for the friendship to continue.

“N4: It seems to me that they cannot remain best friends because they have distanced too much each have got in their own things then I think that if they can be friends and can continue to accompany each other but they will not have the same trust as before because they knew that if one achieves the goal that the other also wanted then the other is going to get jealous then I do not think that's a good thing in a best friend relationship so I think” (EH. Female. Rich. 15 yrs)

It appears that the friendship commitment between these two friends eroded so much that forgiveness leading to being ‘together again’ is not appealing. Tsang et al., realised that there is a relationship between closeness, commitment and forgiveness (2006) which is are aspects mentioned as being absent in the friendship relationship mentioned above.

6.2.7.5. Developmental aspects of forgiveness

As younger children’s discussed about forgiveness their capacity for judgement as well as experiential and emotional understanding was evident of in relation to forgiveness in resolving the conflict. Older children demonstrated more advanced competencies in using cognitive, emotional and experiential capacities in conflict and dealing with the intricacies of forgiveness. Without making a detailed comparison between the two age-groups involved in the focus groups sessions, some observations with developmental bearing could here be made.

As have been extensively discussed in the theoretical chapter on children’s development Piaget (1969) would categorize the younger group of children in the concrete operational stage which allow logical but somewhat rigid operations of reason. Selman ascribes

perspective taking and identification of dishonesty on others and acknowledges for this developmental level (1980). Moreover Darby and Schlenker (1982) assert that young children are limited in their ability to process the rich information clustered in a conflict and forgiveness, and to respond emotionally. In the conversations of the children in the current study, with their emotional and cognitive limitations, it nevertheless became apparent that also the younger children possessed a cognitive, emotional and behavioural disposition conducive of forgiving and asking for forgiveness in spite of their young age. Here the operationalization of the forgiveness process was developmentally related. The outcome was often the continuation to playing together as the shared activity itself constitutes the essence of the friendship relationship.

The older children in this study demonstrated a more advanced cognitive, emotional and behavioural understanding of forgiveness combined with more intricate elements to be taken into account for solving the conflict and the granting of forgiveness or apologizing. According to the Piagetian paradigm adolescents find themselves in the formal operations stage enabling more abstract reasoning. Selman describes the growth of adolescents' social perspective-taking enabling them to consider the point of view of the transgressor, which is likely to facilitate true forgiveness, and Denham observes increasingly intricate interactions handled with progressively more advanced social reasoning ability to recognise, assess, and perform solutions to conflicts (2005). With increasing cognitive and emotional faculties the older children acknowledge that more develop apologies connote deeper regret and penance and they are expected to judge their assessments consequently (Darby & Schlenker, 1982). Therefore, there are many parameters observed in the older children which depicted a developed approach to forgiveness as it was demonstrated through the mixed emotions and thoughts that friends have to wrestle with and manage before approaching forgiveness. Thus, as adolescents grow their perception as well as their experience of conflict and forgiveness within friendship transform. The following diagram 6.3 summarizes the how development, friendship, conflict and forgiveness could be interrelated.

Diagram 6.3 Interrelation Matrix of Development, Friendship, Conflict and Forgiveness

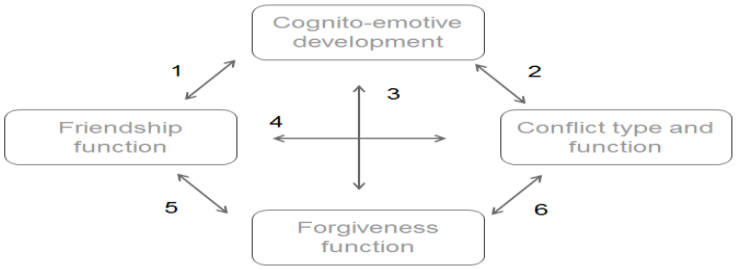


Diagram 6.3: The parameters Cognito-Emotive Development, Conflict Type and Function, Forgiveness Function and Friendship Function show a multiplex pattern of interdependence where each parameter may affect any of the other three.

As diagram 6.3 shows the multiple interdependencies between the four parameters and each interdependent relation is described below according to the numbers in the diagram.

1. The cognito-emotive development in childhood to adolescence itself influences the character of friendships in a multitude of ways, in terms of both intimacy and trust as well as of the potential to cause relational harm. Friendship relations themselves may stimulate cognito-emotive development through confronting the child with a variety of situations that demand perspective taking also those not involving conflict.

2. The child's cognito-emotive stage also affects what defines an offence or conflict, how conflicts are perceived and impact a relationship, how conflicts are approached and solved. In the other direction the conflicts themselves may stretch the child to reason about the conflict and the friendship which in turn may stimulate development.

3. The cognito-emotive development also defines the boundaries for understanding and emotionally experiencing the forgiveness process for offender and offended. Taking perspective in a forgiveness situation is a challenging incident that may constitute a learning experience for the child.

4. The friendship and conflicts within the friendship are closely interrelated where assets accumulated will influence if or how a conflict arises and is handled by the friends.

5. Likewise, the friendship characteristics affect the conditions for establishing forgiveness. Forgiveness qualities on the other hand will determine the sturdiness of a friendship in relation to conflicts and the development of the friendship relation.

6. The severity of a conflict and the underlying offense will set the conditions for the forgiveness process and the possibilities for reconciliation through forgiveness. The quality of the forgiveness process will itself determine the dynamics of the conflict in question and well as of future conflicts.

6.2.8. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS WITHIN THE FRAME OF PEACE EDUCATION

The wealth of insights the children have provided by sharing what is in their minds and how they perceive peace and violence as well as about their interpersonal experiences during conflicts with their friends is represented in the results from the quantitative and qualitative studies and analysed in great length in the discussion section above. The next step is a dual attempt: first, to find complementing aspects of the qualitative and quantitative data sets and second, let these results interact within the framework of peace education.

The quantitative data from children's responses agreed overall with statements about non-violent and supportive environments. It was also noted that the children in general agreed

with applying pro-social behaviour for conflict solving strategies and likewise, most children disagreed with the violent statements in the questionnaire as displayed in Factors 1 and 2 as well as in the individually analysed questions Q15 &Q19. Only a minority of the children responded that they disagreed with the peaceful statements and agreed with statements expressing antisocial behaviours including violent conflict solving strategies featured in Q16, Q 17, Q18, Q19, Q21 and Q37. Thus, these results as mentioned earlier signal an unusual resilient attitude given the negative socio-political context in which the children live in Colombia (Sousa et al. 2013). The overall peaceful response pattern displayed by the children exceeded the anticipations underlying the current study and point to a strong tendency to subscribe to the value of friendship using negotiation strategies that are dialogical, non-violent and forgiving when a conflict arises and is very much in line with peace education objectives (Duckworth 2006, Ardizzone 2003).

The qualitative data from the children's input in the focus groups revealed a clear view of conflict as a common and natural occurrence in their friendship interactions. Accordingly Selman et al. argue that friends in their interactions daily grapple with desires and needs that not necessarily are in agreement often causing as a result interpersonal conflict. The authors go further to assert that "conflict is a natural part of friendship, not something that necessarily destroys it or even makes it dysfunctional" (1997:159). This view is supported by Nelson and Aboud (1985) who argue that conflict in friendship contributes to strengthening children in their social intelligence and capacity to solve relational problems. There are others however who argue that recurrent conflicts in friendship relationships appear to instil violent behaviour in the school setting (Berndt in Bukowski et al. 1996). Thus, in spite of the challenges and intricacies in friendships relationships the overarching theme that emerged was that 'Friends should be able to solve conflicts' - in other words to preserve a friendship relationship is worth to labour for. Hence, this thematic analysis expressed in five themes and one overarching theme represents a potential framework to enhance the related competencies needed for non-violent relationships. That is using friendship to assist children to learn to maintain the relationship by using appropriate competencies and in turn these competencies can also be use or translated accordingly in other social relationships settings.

6.2.8.1. Dialogue and Handling Emotions

An aspect the children clearly stated was that dialogue was the right first step to address a conflict. Indeed dialogue or 'talk' as the children expressed it is a theme that spans both the focus groups results in the theme 'Dialogue in handling conflict', as well as the questionnaire data of Factor 2 'Peace behaviour and experience' and the individually analysed Q19 'I try to talk out a problem instead of fist fighting'. It was found that children strongly favour verbal tactics to address these conflicts. The dialogical approach seems to function as a regulator for the relationship equilibrium at any stage - the beginning, preserving and restoring of the relationship or to conclude a stalemate. The importance of communication for negotiated

solutions of conflicts has been discussed above, notably Putnam and Roloff comment that the negotiation process constitutes a communication form in its own right used to achieve settlements between parties. In fact, negotiation and communication are interwoven such that negotiation is not conceivable without communication of some kind (1992). Moreover peace scholars Harris & Morrison (2012) argue for training in communication and listening competencies. Moreover, from an educational communication perspective Cabezudo and Haavelsrud suggest that "[t]he voices of all learners in dialogue are therefore necessary in peace education… [and] is characterized by codification and de-codification processes in which everyday life is discussed in educational interactions" (2013:5). It is therefore evident that peace education holds dialogue as a crucial mechanism or process to be familiar with so that violence actions are hindered. Thus, the dialogical process as framework for engaging in conflict handling take a central place in the results of both the questionnaire and the focus groups themes this confirmatory findings are possible given the dual methodologically approach taken. It is therefore revealing that the children are likely to be disposed to pro-social learning behaviours as they daily deal with conflictive situations which in turn will contribute to create more peaceful environments to an extent. A disposition that is to be taken advantage of by peace educators and generally by education and social systems as it is a fact that dialogue is not the most common way to be used by Colombians to solve their problems on the contrary it has been stated that in Colombia we have a culture of violence (Waldman 2007).

The children also emphasised that understanding each other by taking perspective and showing empathy - 'to put oneself on the other shoes' - comprised competencies crucial to share about negative emotions such as envy, bitterness, violence and anger to name a few. They also reflected on the need to deal with anger and negative emotions and how could they manage these emotions and by doing so the children expressed that it would contribute to create the circumstances conducive of initiating subsequent dialogue and negotiation as well as forgiveness process. This aspect Lemerise and Arsenio affirm: "A child with a positive, even-tempered disposition has a very different set of regulatory tasks than one prone to intense, long-lasting negative emotions" (2000:111). Accordingly, the data showed children's disposition to take a step towards a constructive emotion handling both in the quantitative and qualitative measurements. In the focus groups the theme 'Handling emotions in conflict' emerged and was discussed above and the Factor 2 'Peace behaviour and experience' as well as individually analysed Q 15 and Q19 agreed with positive emotion handling in conflict situations also surface in the results. Hence, it is likely that most children are interested in learning how to handle emotions.

For Peace education it is highly relevant that children stressed the importance of solving the conflict between the two friends in the dilemma narrative and they explicitly generalized this stance that friends in general should be able to solve conflicts based on the inherent qualities of the friendship relationship type. Here, most if not all of the focus group children emphasised the importance of managing negative emotions for the sake of conflict handling.

And this conviction was held without demeaning the difficulty of conflicts as such or the troubled and often mixed feelings they struggle with in conflict situations. This attitude expressed by the children suggests an underlying pro-social posture which could form a platform for peaceful solving attitudes and strategies to prevent aggression and violence.

6.2.8.2. The Problem of Violence

So far the fact that most children in this study expressed high aspirations and ideals about friendship including non-violent conflict resolution between friends. This notion has to be balanced by the equally true fact that still a significant minority who occasionally use violence in conflicts not only with non-friends but also with friends, a phenomenon that has previously been reported also by Wei and Johnson-Ried (2011).

During the focus group discussions on conflicts in real-life some of the children maintained that violent behaviour is justified and necessary to handle obnoxious behaviour of a friend or non-friend. On the other hand children clearly stated in the focus groups that they have hit friends and that sometimes this is inevitable. For example some children have tried to punch a friend to stop him being annoying or calling them names. Others mentioned have been hit by a friend because of envy. The physical violence from non-friends is more common and has been practiced by a good number of children from the focus groups. Some of the children thus asserted in the focus groups that they would hit an annoying friend or non-friend, arguing that they deserved it because “they don’t care”, “they don’t listen”. This behaviour was more common among mainly older children but included some younger children from poor social backgrounds. Also the questionnaire data showed that a minority of the children did use violence in certain situations, as seen in frequencies for ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ response alternatives to violent statements such as Q18 ‘When I have a problem with another child I swear and say stupid words’ (31.4%) and Q21 ‘If a child teases me I cannot stop him or her unless I hit him’ (22.2%). In the case of conflict among friends Mishna et al., affirm that maltreatment is possible within friendships (2008), and Crick and Nelson note that girls more commonly mistreat their friends in relational terms whereas boys exert more physical aggression against their friends (2002). These observations align with the testimonies provided by the focus group children as well as with the responses in the questionnaire in this study.

Moreover, in the focus group material special concessions are mentioned by the children in terms of excusing violence. Whereas long-time friends should be able to solve conflicts an offended friend still needs and is justified to use violence when being provoked by a joking or abusive friend beyond the bearable. It is in these situations that violence between friends typically appears according to the children. And it is here that peace education interventions could target anti-social behaviour like provocations and violent reactions. Interestingly a focus

group dialogue between two long-term friends gives an illuminating example. The offended friend said to his friend: “Sometimes you do not stop teasing me, that is annoying and sometimes I would like to hit you really hard”. The offender shared that at that moment he realised how difficult it was for his offended friend take this recurring verbal abuse, which had become a pattern over a long period of time. During the evaluation of the session the offended boy said that the focus group session had become an “unburdening experience”, a relief. (More on this type of testimonies can be found in the Pedagogical Insights Chapter). It is here therefore suggested that peace education interventions could give space to discussions of the type used in the focus group sessions of this study, where children who know each other could spontaneously share about challenges in their relationships. The children showed through their responses in the qualitative and quantitative studies that they were cognizant of the basic but critical ‘rules’ for maintaining and restoring friendship relationships. With this basic framework even external influence held at a minimum level, as for the focus group sessions, can catalyse perspective taking processes that may positively impact friendship attitudes and behaviour.

In practice the same focus group children revealed the tendency to use violent strategies when necessary to solve their conflicts. The violence explained by the children stemmed from genuine anger and rage experienced. Here an important aspect of anger is exemplified in the case from two different focus group participants both 13 year old boys with highly developed reasoning abilities and according to the IPT Selman scale a good developed cognitive capacity of perspective taking (level 3) yet finding it difficult to manage anger. These two children both have experienced non-friends disturbing them for various reasons. When confronted with the question what they feel when they beat the disturbing child they answered “they deserved it”, “they looked for it”, “I felt relieved”, “he shouldn’t have done what he did”. These boys pride was abused as they explained. The conclusion is that the idea of justified and necessary violence was deeply rooted in the focus group children including individuals with highly developed perspective taking capacities.

Another case is a girl from a poor school who stated about her classmate “she has got to respect me and then I pushed her as strong as I could against the desk on the other side of the classroom”. She excused her violent action by stating that nobody shall think that they can walk over her. It was about herself, she had the need to take her value back that had been threatened through gossip by publicly beating the other girl. It is noteworthy that this girl aged 14 is one of the most advanced of all focus group participants exhibiting sharp reasoning judgements (INS and IPT level 3). Despite her faculties she does not find any other way to deal with a conflict about gossip than beating the offender.

A related example comes from the group participant, a young boy eight years old, who after having been habitually bullied by his older brother for a long time, eventually hit his older brother in the nose causing him to bleed. After that event his brother did not beat his younger brother anymore. This boy later apologized to his older brother however. Important here is

that this boy's anger contained the cognitive element of realizing being wronged, which is an important aspect of anger adding weight to the notion that violence resulting from anger is often regarded justifiable by the children.

Having considered these examples of violence intended to defend the child's right and self-worth, the question arises how to best respond from a peace education perspective that generally seeks to avoid violence and promote peace? It seems that the children understood anger in many instances as negative and wrong and still let their anger out. The question arises whether all anger that children experience should be interpreted as inherently wrong? In the light of the children's testimonies concerning 'righteous anger' it could be suggested that a sense of anger perhaps may help a person mustering assertiveness and resilience enabling him or her to pursue vindication. Possibly some violent outbursts stem form experiences of feeling (and being) vulnerable and offended. According to Murphy anger is a tangible and physical emotion that constitutes more than an emotional eruption it also expresses judgments of discontentment comprising moral verdicts to asses certain behaviours as wrong that involves unjustified harm or do not comply to specific recognised canons of behaviour (2005). Defining anger therefore is important and even more relevant is to check if there is something good in anger as much as we know the bad about anger. Perhaps lessons can be learnt from the anger and ensure a problem is dealt with. Even if forgiveness is a good thing it does not mean that anger is a bad thing one would here suggest. Could this perspective be incorporated to peace education? The importance to justify anger in some cases is here suggested since children sometimes have good reasons to be angry and it is suggested that adults often ignore these emotional eruptions and delegitimize them under the label that anger is altogether bad. Opotow et al. affirm that failing to teaching of social competences at a young age can perpetuate a cycle of violence (2005). According to our study when teaching pro-social competencies it seems needed to take into account children's deeper emotions and hear their profounder reasons for problematic behaviour instead of urging children to stop fighting or solve their problem as soon as possible.

Here the developmental perspective could add support to interpret children's displays of anger. Selman states that children who cognitively were capable of a high level of perspective taking yet they can fail to behave according to their capacities (1980). And the question is why and how this conduct can be transformed towards more peaceful conflict handling behaviours. Selman later suggests that the framework for comprehending social perspective coordination provides a "deep structure" for judging the growth of children's social skills and strategies as well as the association between social reasoning and behaviour (2003). The understanding of being wronged by another child definitely belongs to the aspect of social reason Selman refers to, which itself is developmentally determined. This is a cognitive developmental lens that pedagogues and professionals in peace education could use to enhance their work in order to hold some particular assumptions concerning the diverse social competencies that children exhibit at different ages.

The often violent behaviour associated with anger is linked to the urge for vindication and the challenge for peace education, and parents and teachers for that matter, is to disconnect vindication from violent acts and exploring alternatives means for vindication. Bacon, when discussing suggested that instead of surrendering it would be more effective to inventively create channels for resentment and anger to steer justice practices devoid of sinking into the 'wild justice' of revenge (Bacon 1937, in Jeffery 2015). The only other alternative to be vindicated than through violent actions the children mentioned was being asked for forgiveness, ideally followed by reformed behaviour by the offending friend. How to attain vindication when the perpetrator refuses to ask for forgiveness is of course the big challenge for peace educators and researchers alike. In this context Enright's et al. forgiveness education program is interesting. Their intervention 'Waging Peace through Forgiveness in Belfast, Northern Ireland II', was carried out with the objective to improve the mental health of the students, especially by reducing anger, through forgiveness education programs delivered by classroom teachers. The authors reported highly positive outcomes exhibited with reduced levels of anger among students, showing that helping schools through educational interventions dealing with anger (2007).

6.2.8.3. The Virtue of Forgiveness

McCullough from the clinical psychology field views forgiveness as a prosocial activity (2001), which is associated to peace education because it aims to restore peace between individuals. Further peace education writers Johnson and Johnson state: "Working together cooperatively, and resolving conflicts constructively, sets the stage for reconciliation and forgiveness" being forgiveness a very central concept in peace education (2010). Forgiveness was regarded by the children a 'virtue', an honourable thing to do. Moreover, they shared their experiences of profound relief, harmony and peace after forgiveness had been granted. On the other hand, they also shared that it is often difficult to actually ask for forgiveness for reasons such as pride and resentment etc. As forgiveness has been extensively discussed in the qualitative section above, what is intended here is to relate with the quantitative data and the relevance for peace education. The quantitative question Q36 dealt specifically with forgiveness: "I say sorry if I have done something wrong to another child" and belonged to the questions loading to the Peace experience and behaviour factor, where the vast majority of the children agreed with the statements belonging to this factor. For the individually analysed question Q15 "After I have fought with my friend we forgive each other and continue to be friends" nine out of ten children agreed with this statement. These results from the questionnaire study are supported by the tendency noted in the focus groups where all children almost unanimously - except three children - agreed that the two friends in the dilemma narrative should be able to solve the conflict and that at the end they forgive each other. However in terms of real conflicts that the children had been through the discussion varied between the focus groups. All the younger children shared about conflicts that were resolved through forgiveness whereas for the older children, both boys and girls, the conflicts exhibited much higher level of complexity and less tolerance was displayed particularly for the boys. In sum there was an intention to

remedy the conflict but pride, fear and carelessness among others factors contributed to reducing interest in forgiveness. The questionnaire and focus group results provide different facets in the sense that at a cognitive level of forgiveness is regarded by the participating children as something good and useful for solving conflicts. However as revealed through focus group input in real life practice of forgiveness becomes more complex, difficult and less common for the older children. Concerning the emerging picture of children's view of forgiveness the data from the focus groups and from the responses to the questionnaire statements Q36 and Q15 can be said to complement each other.

The deeper emotional and cognitive understanding of forgiveness was evident also among the younger children (6 – 10 yrs), where one 8 year-old expressed his experience of receiving forgiveness as being 'reborn'. This 'reborn' feeling is also commented on by Griswold: "Even when such a possibility to begin anew seems impossible, the other, by forgiving me, gives me a new past, gives me a new beginning in the sense of being reborn, thus, releasing this capacity from its bondage to the sinful past and making it possible to begin again" (Griswold 2010:31). These profound emotional experiences intimately connected to restoration of relationships are the insignia of a true reciprocal forgiveness process. These genuine experiences should be encouraged and guarded by responsible adults. Griswold warns about forced forgiveness that can become fake forgiveness, which in turn may corrupt the child's understanding of true forgiveness. This notion is translatable to the pedagogy realm, where insisting on forgiveness can be a temptation for professionals and adults in general working with children. Papastephanou suggests that education "must explore the idea that genuine repentance and the sincere request of forgiveness is a moral duty for an offender" (2003:521). Papastephanou's exhortation is highly valid. However, considering the risks of adults using their influence children may apologize or voice forgiveness to please the adults rather out of genuine repentance. It is therefore a challenge for adults to effectively mediate or facilitate forgiveness processes in an active way. Pedagogically it is required for educators to do a self-appraisal of what forgiveness entails and how it is acted in practice in order to be able to interact with children's conflicts and their personal understandings of forgiveness as well as interpersonal practice so that reconciliation is achieved to the extent possible. In teaching about peace through forgiveness it can be useful to be acquainted with the various propositions the field offers for example McCullough et al., summarises three main approaches to look at forgiveness: Intrapersonal or Interpersonal, letting go of the negative or embracing the positive and ordinary or extraordinary forgiveness. It is also proposed that forgiveness be viewed as part of a wider context in which the individual child exists (2001:302). Interestingly, the focus group interactions did lead to reconciliation scenes between participating children. In this study the children's independent reflections and perspective taking prompted them to take the necessary steps toward forgiveness. This observations from an educational perspective could guide peace education initiatives aiming at facilitating conflict solving processes including forgiveness.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PEDAGOGICAL INSIGHTS

7. PEDAGOGICAL INSIGHTS

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The focus groups sessions were rounded off with an evaluation of the session itself in how the children experienced the discussions, the topic, if they liked it and how they felt. It was decided to analyse this material separately to gain insights into the research methodology and its validity. The content of this input from the participating children showed to be very illuminating, transcending methodological parameters however. In addition to showing general appreciation of the sessions, the participants also got the opportunity to share views of the Investigator, which was for most if not all of them a new experience. Interestingly, the children also gave voice to new insights into the topic of handling conflicts in the friendship social setting acquired during the focus group discussions. Moreover, in some cases the insights were translated into motivation for change of attitude and behaviour. There were also children who expressed relief in opening up about difficult experiences and feelings. Actually, spontaneous reconciliation-like scenes between some children did in fact occur, which were mentioned during the evaluation as valuable, which in turn adds to the focus groups sessions elements verging into therapeutic realm according to the feedback. Consequently the focus group sessions had become educational experiences with an unintended impact.

From a methodological perspective, the smaller the group, the greater the chance of hearing from everyone, and the better the chance of developing the kind of trusting relationship that the conversation demands and as also noted by Hopkins “My experiences from doing this research have led me to suggest that when doing research with children and young people, it may well be appropriate to conduct focus groups with fewer participants…” (2007:533). In the current study focus groups of maximum 5 participants were formed in order to give sufficient space to each participant to voice their view. The efficiency of this approach is seen in, among other things, the fact that none of the children refrained from providing input in this evaluation and everyone expressed freely their thoughts either positive or negative.

To assure an open discussion climate that had to be observed by participants and investigator alike the participants had agreed on the following rules presented to them by the investigator:

- The investigator’s questions have not right or wrong answers all are good
- Every child have the right to speak and be heard and he/she has finished talking the next child will continue with his/her comments
- You answer the questions and make comments that you want I am interested in hearing what everyone thinks.

Non-exhaustive list of evaluation questions:

- What did you like from the activity?
- What do you think about the teacher/ moderator?
- What did you learn?
- For example?
- Can you say more?
- Can you give me an example?
- How did you feel?
- How did I treat you?
- What was easy?
- What was difficult?

7.2. LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES

The richness of the data received during the focus group discussions including the evaluations exceeded the expectations. Nevertheless the interaction with the children contained limitations and challenges, which is important to acknowledge when analysing their testimonies. It is here acknowledged that as Denzin and Lincoln explain qualitative researchers are according to postmodernist thinking allowed to "eschew the questionable metanarrative of scientific objectivity and still have plenty to say as situated speakers, subjectivities engaged in knowing/telling about the world as they perceive" (2008:476). One has, according to the authors to accept that the qualitative researcher knows in part only and constitute a portion of the system that he or she investigates with the inevitable subjectivity that goes with it. Already Popper noted that "human knowledge is never sufficiently precise and complete" (1950:123). Still, the post-modernist school permits the investigator to share the observations made admitting the limitations that are possible to discern from the humble vantage point of qualitative researcher, focus group facilitator and fellow human being. With these general considerations from a philosophy of science perspective the discussion proceeds to comment on a number of limitations to this work:

First, the verbal face-to-face setting of the evaluations could have filtered out some negative comments. Morrow (1998) notes that evaluations in written form could have captured additional negative feedback that was not mentioned verbally. One may add the conjecture that limitations in trust between the participating children and the researcher could hamper the sharing of negative criticism verbally. In the current study it has been shown that overall

the children were very open about their feelings also when describing difficult situations, which in turn could constitute one 'trust indicator'. Second, in the evaluations several children mention that some questions were difficult to respond to but did not express negative opinions or feelings of discomfort about the focus group activity as such. Only one child out of 118 children, a 10 year-old girl from a rich neighbourhood, said that she felt pressed when asked by the investigator to answer a question. What she said she had experienced was acknowledged by the investigator.

Third, it is admitted that the investigator's authentic and objective attitude of course had its fluctuations during the course of the conversations where her emotional reactions could have compromised some of her input in terms of providing guidance not intended. It was a challenge to attain balance between inviting the children to be spontaneous and to stick the agenda planned for the investigation.

Fourth, despite the ambition to view each child as unique with the proper attention he or she deserves it was inevitable that time constraints restricted interactions with some children more than others in some cases.

Fifth, there were no overt disciplinary problems with during the discussions and all children have had the opportunity to leave the session after the introduction if they so wished. Still, in a couple of groups with younger children there was the tendency to have several children speaking at the same time which was disturbing at times for the flow of the discussion. Interestingly, during these less well organised discussions the children did not divert from the topic discussed and the transcribed content was of good quality.

Sixth, there was awareness that the focus groups participants could have been subject to peer pressure and could sometimes have been be influenced by dominant opinions that potentially could hinder other views from being heard. Desai and Potter (2006) warn concerning this problem and warn against the expectation that focus groups are able to completely furnish the true public opinion.

Seventh, as these are groups samples extracted from a larger population one can never be sure that their views represent the population, in other words one can never generalise their insights.

Eighth, although the children's assessment of the focus group discussions depicts a general consensus that the sessions were very positive and enjoyable events it does not imply that every child experienced exactly the same aspects as pleasant or to the same degree as the other children, although using similar language in their verbal feedback.

Ninth, it is here acknowledged that the positive outcome of the evaluations could to some extent have been influenced by the novelty of the activity itself. What is new to the children could be more easily and positively perceived as something that is a repetitious activity in which the children take part in every day year after year.

Tenth, although the dilemma narrative was regarded true-to-life by the children, only very limited information concerning the fictitious characters, their relationship, their way of reasoning etc. was accessible to the children. Consequently the resulting discussion on the dilemma obviously to an extent had to be hypothetical.

Eleventh, the focus group discussion revolved around a relational dilemma and many problems in the world are not dilemmatic in the sense that the choice of the appropriate action in response to a situation is plain and straightforward with not much reasoning required to find the answer. The question in these cases is rather whether you would do it (=what you believe is right) or not. The dilemmatic structure usually allows justification of at least two modes of action which itself constitutes a limitation in the sense that one does not know what impact the dilemma itself has on the child confronted with it. What the children shared about their perception of the impact is unlikely to tell the whole story.

Thematically Analysis was used to categorise the evaluation content: In the following section the children's feedback comments are described and categorized thematically. Thereafter the focus group setting is discussed highlighting the content, the dilemma method and the elements of the recognition concept. The lessons learnt are subsequently discussed in relation to potential further applications.

The three main components forming the cornerstones in this chapter are the following: setting, impact and relevance of focus group discussions. The diagram 7.1 below provides a visual overview:

- The focus group setting comprised of aspects related to method and to the process of recognition embedded in the focus group setting.
- The setting characteristics contribute to the unintended impact as perceived by the children.
- The relevance for future research and practice is discussed based on the insights of this impact

Diagram 7.1 Setting, Impact and Relevance of Focus Group Discussions

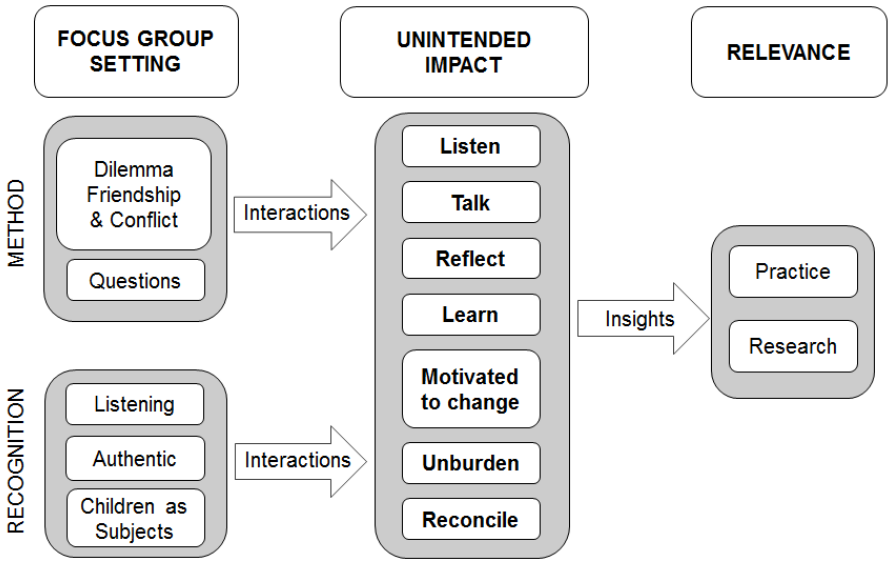


Diagram 7.1: The main themes of the Pedagogical Insights chapter are related such that the discussion on the theme Focus group setting, containing methodological and attitudinal aspects leads to the theme Unintended impact, comprised of a number of components emerging from the children's feedback, which in turn provide insights for practice and research that constitute the third theme – Relevance.

7.3. EVALUATION OF FOCUS GROUPS SESSIONS BY PARTICIPANTS

7.3.1. THE CHILDREN VALUED TALKING, LISTENING AND REFLECTING

This section we will reflect on the aspect of talking and listening giving significant importance to what the participant children manifested and meant to say. It is therefore suitable to cite Koskinen and Lindström based on a Levinas hermeneutical reading who specify what listening comprises "Listening invites the individual to see and to respond to the Other's address and thereby to welcome the holy and the infinite in a world where all human beings are tied together into a common humanity" (2013:146). The definition reflects the spirit in which one is expected to engage in listening so that the subject might feel he or she belong, the ideal the children would experience in the focus groups.

The first theme derived from the participating children's feedback on the focus group sessions concerns children's appreciation of stimulation. This theme is based on the following sub-themes defined: Important for children to talk and be listened to by their peers; Children learn from one another; Children appreciated the perspective taking exercise; and Children valued that they were encouraged to reflect.

7.3.1.1. Important for the Children to Talk and Be Listened to by their Peers

As the evaluation of the focus groups session took place when being asked the question "What did you like?" the six year-old girl answered:

N5: "Talk" (AB.Poor.Female.6yrs)

She was the youngest in the focus group and her comments during the whole session demonstrated clarity and engagement in the conversation every time she answered the questions producing relevant examples. In this instance she evaluates the session in terms of what she liked from the activity to "talk". A definition of the word 'talk' states the following: "To say words in order to express your thoughts, feelings, opinions, etc., to someone, to have a conversation or discussion with someone, to have a conversation about (something)"[14]. It is here suggested that this simple but straightforward definition does capture important aspects of what the girl wanted to express, meaning that her talking involved expressing thoughts, feelings and opinions. Interestingly, this and other children's appreciative feedback for the opportunity to share (see more examples below) was not dependent on the facilitator agreeing. Being consistent with the researcher's own approach, trying to comprehend what was said without judging or criticizing, nor commending or affirming. But striving to give every word every child spoke full validity appears to have stimulated the children. Perhaps the mere fact of being taken seriously made this activity of talking special.

Three other children will now be considered as they continue the same line with some additional words as they emphasised that they liked to "talk".

I: … you what did you like?

N2: "I liked to be here talking this to play here" (AB.Poor.Female.8yrs)

N3: "So to talk with you this" (AB.Poor.Female.8yrs)

I: Now what about you did you like the story did you like what we did here the questions and everything?

N5: "Because I could talk also" (MB.Poor.Female.7yrs)

When evaluating the investigator's performance this child confirms how important was for him to talk and not only that but he talked about what he wanted:

I: Ok and what do you think of the teacher? Did she ask good questions or did you feel uncomfortable did I do a good job you can be honest

[14] http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/talk

N2: “Good good...cool because we did we said what we wanted to say yes” (EH.Rich.Male.12yrs)

One aspect that appeared important to the children and mentioned in the previous paragraph, was the opportunity to share and being listened to by the other children in the focus group. The statement below expressed how meaningful it was to be listened to and to listen to other classmates:

I: Okay how about you what do you think of the activity?

N3: “I found it very good because I heard various points of view because they heard my point of view as well one learns to resolve conflicts or to get an idea” (MB.Poor.Male.14yrs)

Moreover the case above also illustrates that the sharing of views can be associated with a learning experience pertinent to the topic of conflicts in the friendship domain.

In the next example a boy 8 yrs. old from a poor neighbourhood expressed appreciation for the opportunity to sharing feelings in response to the questions posed by the investigator (I):

I: The questions you like and what questions did you like?

N3: “I liked sharing my feelings with someone else”

I: I liked sharing feelings with another person and what else? And what is that to share feelings with someone tell me

N3: “Let’s say I feel bad then I share it let’s say ‘ah friend I feel bad for this reason’” (CS.Poor.Male.8yrs)

The input exemplified above depicts an environment in this particular focus group setting that was conducive of open exchange between peers. This involved learning from one another as well as sharing emotions. This latter aspect suggests an exchange at a deeper level than just sharing information or opinions but also the realisation that sharing feelings had somehow a positive effect in an 8 year-old child and that he could even replicate it with a friend.

7.3.1.2. Children Learn from One Another

The pedagogical value of the session was further underscored by children pointing to the value of hearing diverse views by expressing it was of help for achieving understanding pertinent to the specific topic of conflict in friendship. The value of the peers’ opinions is explicitly recognised in the example below:

I: Yes what did you like?

N3: “It helped me understand how to settle conflicts by hearing their views and being able to understand” (AB.Poor.Female.14yrs)

This subsequent quote expresses how useful this learning could be in real life and by doing so the statement goes beyond understanding to the application based on the utility of the knowledge. It also shows motivation to act according to the new understanding including identification of incorrect behaviour:

I: …what do think of the activity?

N1: “To me it was interesting because we all know that these activities always leave us a teaching then I find it good that anyway one is learning in case if this happens to you you already know how to react and not react incorrectly as Alex [character in the narrative] did” (V.Rich.Male.13yrs)

The focus group dilemma permitted the children to exchange individual views about conflict in friendship as well as to compare their views with those of their classmates to engage in a process of creating own meanings. The following citation presents a rather advanced observation and also construction of meaning:

I: How did you feel what did you like did not like?

N2:“For me, I found it very good because we heard the point of view of others and no, there are people who think differently from us and you can also solve problems and develop differences to create a better solution” (AB.Poor.Female.13yrs.)

The above citation illustrates how the child commends the activity observing that listening to others views was good and she goes further elucidating that there are differences in opinions between classmates yet these differences can be utilised for practical application for better problem solving. This ability when used in practice actually constitutes an important prerequisite in integrative negotiation situations (see the negotiation chapter page: 20).

7.3.1.3. Children Appreciated the Perspective Taking Exercise

A call to take perspective is here expressed by a child who thereby goes further than his classmates. Here he shows that he is not only thinking about himself but placing himself in the situation of a child who is new in the school and expresses the need to consider how this new child could feel and moreover, what could be done to help him feel included the new social environment.

I: Would you like activities like this again with other issues or the same?

N1: “But not always things about football also it can be here at school that someone new would come and I mean so that he would feel good so that he would not feel different” (V.Rich.Male.13yrs)

Taking perspective is valued by the following child in the sense that it is seen as a tool to understand a person that they care for although this person projects negative feelings to the other:

I: And how do you think of the way I did the questions the series of questions how we handle the dialogue now you have to evaluate me

N2: “Or also to understand a person that one cares for an example is that you told us that we were to see like Alexandra then also understand when a person feels like that who has feelings against me” (EH.Rich.Female.14yrs)

The perspective taking exemplified above is of course particularly significant as this is applied directly to a conflict situation and constitutes thereby the first step in a potential conflict resolution strategy.

7.3.1.4. Children Valued Reflection

The final sub-theme of children’s evaluations of the activity showed that they have the capacity to think deeply and carefully about things that matter to them. The example below shows how a child described the activity as an analysis – likely understood as not being an easy or superficial activity. The usage of the subsequent conjunction ‘but’ supports this interpretation. Still, the overall experience is perceived as positive. The perception that the object of the analysis was “what is happening to us” suggests the dilemma and discussion had been reflected upon by the participant and that insights about own behaviour and possibly also about internal processes had been gained.

I: Felt calm comfortable anything else? You can tell the truth don’t worry how was my job?

N1: “Good because we are talking analysing what is happening to us but fine” (AB.Poor.Male.14yrs)

These insights about own behaviour is further elaborated by the child quoted below. She evaluated the focus group discussion with her classmates as an experience that stirred her self-awareness and the perception of others as well enabled her to reach conclusions. These conclusions contain generalisations that suggest a potential openness to understand others based on perceived inner reality:

I: And now to finish it I just I want to know how do you think about the activity what you think of the questions would you like to comment?

N2: “Because I realized how we react to many things and because as others did and we all have the same needs” (V.Rich.Female.12yrs)

In the following citation the child acknowledges that the session gave him an experience that enabled him to reflect on how feelings can affect decision making:

I: How did you feel in this activity did you like it didn’t like was it interesting, the questions, the subject is something that you may value what do you think about this activity?

N3: It does make one reflect on the decisions that you make when feeling envy or something like that (CS.Middle.Male.13yrs)

Below the child gives thought at an even deeper level to what the activity meant for him. His statement shows self-reflection on his own actions, in particular when he in a situation does not consider his own actions, behaviour and even his identity. Implicitly a link between actions and identity is possibly here being constructed:

I: Good and what do you think of this activity?

N4: “Well, that in some actions that you do that's when you stop to think who one truly is what one does sometimes” (CAH.Poor.Male.14yrs)

The next example highlights the conducive environment of the focus group to gain important awareness about oneself. The self-reflection appears to have paved the way to significant insights about the inner self. The focus group session meant for this child an opportunity to analyse her inconsistency over the fact although she does not want it she ‘messes up’ her friendship, which in turn made her feel sad about her own behaviour:

I: Well then let's continue with the theme how did you feel because now we are coming to the end how do you think?

N4: Eh, was very good and indeed also very sad and reflecting about things you do not want to do but at the same time one messes up then I found it good because everyone shares their own reflection it is like saying “what have I done why I did it and how am I going to solve it...” it is good (MB.Poor.Female.13yrs)

That sharing difficult feelings about oneself in the evaluation part (citation above) was possible shows a high level of trust built during the course of the focus group discussion. The child above confirms the value of openly sharing of reflections and helpful ideas on finding solutions to interpersonal problems.

7.3.2. THE TOPIC OF CONFLICT IN FRIENDSHIP WAS RELEVANT

Friendship as depicted in the dilemma narrative used in the sessions showed to be an interesting and engaging theme to the focus group participants and conflict within the domain of friendship a common experience to all. Within this section the following sub-themes have been identified to describing the evaluations from the children: Dilemma narrative was appropriate; sharing our feelings; Children liked learning about forgiveness in friendship; Motivation for behaviour change, Children valued the activity and asked for more, and Therapeutic implications of focus groups.

7.3.2.1. Dilemma Narrative Appropriate

That the narrative itself captured the interest of the participants was most likely a prerequisite for a constructive exchange. The following example illustrates appreciation of the narrative content, which was manifested by the majority of children and can be conjectured that it had affinity to their reality:

I: What did you like from the class more specifically?

N3: The story (F.Poor.Male.8yrs)

7.3.2.2. The Children Valued Sharing Feelings

The experience of telling someone about own viewpoints and particularly personal feelings was specified as important and positive in the evaluation of the session

This child indicates that she appreciated being able to convey her ideas and emotions related to social conflicts:

I: How did I managed the activity?

N1: And you gave us the opportunity to express ourselves to express our feelings towards conflicts (AB.Poor.Female.13yrs)

In the same line but going further the following example shows that the child valued having the opportunity to ventilate her ideas and emotions and moreover to be open about not comprehending aspects discussed:

I: How did you feel in this conversation? How do you think?

N5: “We were able to get out all the thoughts we expressed our feelings to the other and what we don’t understand and then I found super good” (MB.Poor.Female.14yrs)

Although the overall impression is that the children appreciated sharing their feelings and could overcome the challenge to put their feelings in words there were examples where difficulties experienced with this activity were shared in the group. The following citation provides and interesting example:

I: How did you like the story?

N4: “Nice about God like friendship about friendship about harmony”

N4: “…you missed asking me about what was difficult”

I: What was difficult from the story then tell me

N4: “For the hard part is that feelings that it is difficult to express feelings they are something hard to express” (EH.Rich.Male.9yrs)

The discussion was valued as good and yet a challenging experience for this young boy to verbalise his feelings despite the fact that he was one of the most active and probably the most cognitively differentiated among participants in the group and had actually shared a lot about his emotions earlier in the session. Still, this difficulty was so important to express for this nine year-old that at the end of the session he prompted the investigator to ask him about this. The citation also display the advanced level of reasoning for his age where he notices his inner feelings and takes a critical distance to his own inhibition and articulates this in a way that not all adults achieve.

7.3.2.3. Children Liked Learning about Forgiveness in Friendship

The aspect of forgiveness was expressed in the evaluation of the activity by the children, who considered forgiveness important for the continuation of the friendship relationship. Interestingly, forgiveness did not feature in the dilemma narrative, nor was introduced by the investigator but brought up by the children themselves.

This young child manifests her appreciation of the session by pointing at forgiveness as a 'friendly' exercise and/or topic to engage in:

I: Well, and what did you learn?

N2: "I me I liked the part of forgiveness because it was was very friendly and we had to solve a problem and then that part I liked" (CS.Poor.Female.6yrs)

Forgiveness in the next two citations is mentioned as the remedy for a breach in the relationship, implicitly caused by an offense, which enables the relationship to 'survive' and continue. The second citation above also underscores the learning experience the child perceived.

I: What did you learn about friendship?

N4: Apologizing to others being a good friend

I: And what happens when you fight what did you learn?

N4: Well you can ask for forgiveness and be good friends (CS.Poor.Female.8yrs)

At the next level come the insight that forgiveness to be functional needs to be qualified in terms of honesty and authenticity. This young child expresses that he learnt about forgiveness and makes a particular reference to the inner experience as a requirement for true repentance in the forgiveness process:

I: Did you like the story and what else?

N5:"That is nice and I learn"

I: And what did you learn?

N5: “How to ask for forgiveness that one must always ask wholehearted to your classmate… if not that is not forgiveness” (F.Poor.Male.7yrs)

The citation below refers to an actual reconciliation between three girls during the focus group session. The three young girls had had a sharp conflict some days before the session, but at the end of the focus group session they settled the matter and with some degree of difficulty they forgave each other while the other two group participants were observing and supporting the event. In the response to the investigator’s question on what the participant liked about the focus group session the following response was given:

I: What do you think, what did you like, what you think it was nice?

N2: “That the two of them [the two girls in conflict] asked for forgiveness to each other” (F.Poor.Female.8yrs)

This young girl belongs to the same focus group mentioned above, she agrees that she learnt to forgive people since she was one of the girls involved in the problem and further she adds that she also learn to love an even profounder feeling.

I: What do you think of this activity have you learned anything?

N1: I learned how to love people and forgive them (F.Poor.Female.8yrs)

The learning experience of the following child is expressed by the view that a conflict requires the responsibility to pardon and to find a solution:

I: What did you learn?

N2: “That when you fight you have to forgive and fix the problems” (MB.Poor.Female.8yrs)

In this observation below the child manifests that he learnt reasons not to hold un-forgiveness against others.

I: Okay how about you what do you think of the activity?

N4: “I thought it was really good so as you listen and have ideas to not to feel resentment towards other classmates” (MB.Poor.Male.12yrs)

7.3.2.4. Motivation for Behaviour Change

Having exemplified learnings and insights on conflicts between friends shared by the participating children, the next sub-theme contains citations where some children expressed that they have come to realise aspects they were not aware of in dealing with conflict. Here some children shared about an act or process through which they could improve or reform by acquiring a new behaviour that would make them more proficient in conflict solving.

In addition to expressing general appreciation for the activity this child explains that friendship and problem solving between friends was of relevance to her:

I: And what did you like what you did like about the activity?

N1: “I liked the activity because it was interesting and good and it was interesting because we were taught a lot about friendship and solved a problem between two little friends that eh I really liked it was a very good activity” (V.Rich.Female.7yrs).

A pedagogical insight from the citation above is that the child perceived the activity as educational in terms of “being taught” although the investigator only asked questions to the children. The learning experience apparently came through own reflections facilitated by the questions as well as from comments from other participants. Learning and discovering appears to be processes synonymous with the concept of “being taught” although no pedagogical ambitions were held by the investigator.

The aspect of solving problems was also mentioned by the following child. He finds relevant to discuss about conflicts with his friends and also displays the insight that the ‘know-how’ of problem solving within relationships as such is of great significance:

I: What do you think of the activity how do you evaluate it and well I want to hear how do you feel what do you take with you how you find it?

N1: “I thought it was very good this activity because we could talk about our friends and the problems and also because it is important to know how to fix problems with your friends and I found it very a very interesting activity” (CS.Middle.Female.14yrs)

The citation below shows the child’s realisation process from reflection about own violent behaviour to the valuing of the activity as a tool that subsequently motivates him to think how to avoid own violent reactions to conflict:

I: How did you find the activity? Tell me how did you feel?

N2: “Well I think it was excellent because one because this type of activities make you reflect because sometimes you can react violently and because thanks to these activities one thinks more and therefore there are not such conflicts then so I think these activities are good…” (MB.Poor.Male.14yrs)

A more profound analysis is displayed by this child who shares about both her own emotions and about her conflictive experience in friendship. The open discussions and shared reflections among peers had helped and inspired this girl to find out how to find a solution to her problem:

I: How did you feel?

N4: “Eh was very fun and indeed also very sad and reflecting about things you do not want to do but at the same time one messes up then I found it good because everyone shares their own reflection it is like saying what did I do why I did it and how I'll solve it... it is good” (MB.Poor.Female.13yrs)

For some children the focus group session was viewed as useful in that it stimulated the realization that when a conflict arises one needs to take the responsibility to solve it. The citation below shows children in agreement on dealing with conflict and the statements imply an intentional behaviour or possibly even a commitment to apply this principle. The perceived ‘real life’ value of the insights is shown in the last statement that what has been learnt can - when put into practice - prevent negative aspects of conflicts. Motivation to improve could actually be suggested:

I: And what questions what questions did you like?

N5: “That if you cause a problem how do you solve it”

I: And why did you like that topic?

N2: “Because it is interesting and is very useful for...”

N3: “So that it does not happen again” (V.Rich.Male.8yrs)

A possible motivational impact of the focus group discussions is obviously a very interesting feature in any intervention. Is this possible to discern it also in these group discussions? The applicability of the insights gained is alluded to in the cited sequence above. The following excerpt does suggest an interest in improving behaviour in a friendship relationship:

How did you feel what do you think of the activity what did you like what you didn’t like tell me?

N5: “I found it interesting because you talk about friends and one understands and one learns more as for example if something happens after this I've learned something from the activity and can use it as a teaching for life ...” (V. Rich. Female. 7yrs)

Concerning the aspect of handling emotions the children discussed that violence and particularly anger was not the best alternative. The child below proposed therapy in the form of talks could be of help to raise awareness about these issues.

I: So what to do when having anger? …what are we going to do when having anger?

N1: I would say to do talks therapy I mean to speak with those persons who have well because all people may have their own kind of anger because obviously everyone at a time will react with anger but knowing how to handle the type of anger and at what point can one get angry or it could only to be just to be annoying but not so with anger. (MB.Poor.Male.13yrs)

As shown this boy went further and argued that there are times when one should be angry and other times when one should only appear to be angry. Thus the reasoning of this child is indeed very advanced in demonstrating the complexity and role of emotions in conflict.

It thus appears that although executed as a part of an empirical study with neither pedagogical nor motivational ambitions the children displayed awareness of enrichment through questions posed by the investigator and by the input provided by their peers, and by being given the opportunity to share their own experiences and opinions. Moreover, reflections over own behaviour and attitudes appear to have inspired some children to reconsider their patterns of behaviour and use new strategies to solve relational problems.

7.3.3. THE ROLE OF THE INVESTIGATOR

The conviction and ambitions of the current study were such that the focus groups should be conducted with a conscious strive to establish the participating children as subjects, being the centre of the focus group. Was this ambition fulfilled? The testimonies above seem to indicate that the investigator somehow transcended the 'conventional' role or function as an observing researcher who does not interfere with the object of study. Indeed, the children themselves gave voice to their appreciation of the discussions, their view that they had learnt and understood new pieces of information in the interpersonal area and that these sessions had had considerable impact on many of them. Indeed, the children almost invariably called the investigator 'teacher' despite the explanation given them about the purpose of the focus group sessions. Therefore the perception the participants had about the investigator and the trust established during the one hour interaction was regarded essential to understand the nature of the exchange between the children and the investigator that emerged.

The following sequence sheds light on how children could experience the role of the investigator in the sense that This young girls tells that she felt good and loved by the researcher:

I: How did I treat you what do you think of the moderator?

N1: "You treated us well and with love" (F.Poor.Female.8yrs)

The following young child expresses his amazement by stating that the researcher was friendly opposite to his expectations

I: Did you like her or is she boring?

N4: "You made a very good impression on me / I liked you"

I: Yes I made a good impression on you and what do you think?

N3: "You surprised me"

I: Yes why I surprised you?

N3: “Because I thought you were an angry teacher but you are not” (CS.Poor.Male.8yrs)

The background to this quote is that these particular children from this focus group have had negative experiences with their teachers and counsellors alluding that their trust had been broken because the information they had provided was acknowledged as private but then it became a tool used for threatening the students.

I: What do you think about the teacher? [The title ‘teacher’ had already been given the investigator by the children]

N5: “Well good that if it's something private you will not disclose it”

N1: “And that you can be a counsellor”

I: Could you trust?

N1: “Yes”.

I. … what?

N1: “That you can be a counsellor” (CAH.Poor.Male.14)

I: Counsellor.

N5: “You help to reflect” (CAH.Poor.Male.12)

The cited statements above show that the children saw the investigator as a counsellor who could be trusted, which in turn could have helped create an environment of open exchange. Moreover, this exchange also stimulated the children to reflect and this the children regarded as added value.

In terms of methodology the questions were almost invariably regarded helpful by the children:

What did you like?

N1: “Questions” (F.Poor.Male.7yrs)

I: What did you like?

N5: “The story and everything else and the questions” (CS.Poor.Male.8yrs)

I: Now what about you did you like the story did you like what we did here?

N5: “The questions and everything" (MB.Poor.Female.7yrs)

I: How did you find this activity?

N5: “Because the questions were good” (CS.Poor.Female.8yrs)

I: What do you think about the teacher?

N4: “It was really nice that questions were not about for example some questions that weren't simply Yes or No but it was good that one needed to explain the parts of the answers well” (EH.Rich.Female.10yrs)

In some cases the questions were experienced as difficult to answer by the children:

I: Was it difficult because there were tough questions? Was it difficult easy or how?

N2: “Well, it was a little bit difficult for the questions sometimes I didn’t know what to answer” (EH.Rich.Male.10yrs)

Some of the older children were able to analyse the questioning approach more deeply:

I: And how do you think of the way I did them questions a series of questions how we handled the dialogue now you have to evaluate me

N4: “I found it very well because you asked things that happen to us and I think ... you made us think on the things that happens to most teenagers it happens because they feel that nobody understands that her best friend is going to go with another I think the questions were very helpful for us to put ourselves in the position of others and apply it in our lives and not to lose a long-time friendship” (EH.Rich.Female.15yrs)

The statement above explicitly acknowledges that the questions helped the children both to take perspective as well as to put in operation in their own reality in order to better manage conflicts between friends.

The following testimony displays unusual depth in reasoning about the session and the role of the investigator:

I: How did I managed the activity?

N2: “You helped each one of us with the point of view of others so that we understood without you giving us content and meanings so that we could give our own opinions and draw out our own meanings” (AB.Poor.Female.14yrs)

The facilitation provided by the investigator seems to have helped children understand the contributions given by their peers. Notably, this participant (above) also understood some of the self-imposed restrictions of the investigator (i.e. not giving content), which enabled her to create meaning on her own. Stimulating the children to make the activity truly creative was indeed an unexpected outcome and worthy of further study.

A general observation was that children coming from very poor neighbourhoods were neither accustomed to present their point of view nor to be asked to express what they think about issues that matters to them. However, the focus group climate and format permitted, enabled and motivated these children to engage in the discussion which they did genuinely and seriously. Admittedly some children would drift away from the frame of friendship or would be lost in the talk yet it was not a problem since the investigator made them feel appreciated and understood and would bring back the talk to the friendship domain. As it was noticed by a participant as follows:

I: How did I managed the activity?

N2: "You knew how to guide us not to divert from the topic instead you kept us always focused on what really was important and in the end the problems were solved" (AB.Poor.Female.14)

Acknowledging that the guidance helped the children to remain dealing with what they themselves regarded really important also supports the choice of theme.

7.3.4. THE CHILDREN VALUED THE ACTIVITY

This study was designed to explore children's thoughts, feelings and behaviour in relation to conflict in friendship. It was designed with the hope that children would be open to share something from their reality yet the outcome is that children did not only take active part in the focus group sessions and expressed that they learned something, but that they were also motivated to such an extent that they wanted more of this activity applied to other themes pertinent to their reality. The citations in this section will illustrate their desire for more sessions of this kind.

This child succinctly concludes that he liked the activity and moreover that it is something new to him, something that he does not often experience:

I: And you what do you think of the story fun?

N2: "If was fun nice an activity like this we don't have every day" (EH.Rich.Male.10yrs)

This older child (below) explains that he gets bored with the same activities at school, which probably indicates that his motivation to study at school is low. The focus group discussion apparently broke this monotonous pattern and he felt relieved and claimed he learnt more using this methodology:

How did you find the activity? Tell me how did you feel?

N2: "…so I think these activities are good because also one sometimes gets tired of the same and the same every day and study and study and then here we had a different kind routine then one is relieved from the burden of always studying and because I found it a good activity because you learn more" (MB.Poor.Male.13yrs)

This comparison made by this boy (above) may not be generalised, but the emphasis on the perceived pedagogical value of the session is again emphasised. A conjecture could be that he valued the more 'intrinsic' nature of the focus group experience than what he usually is exposed to.

Expressing a clear interest in similar activities like the focus group this participant states that it would be good if the school could provide the same type of activities:

I: What do you think of the activity? You can tell me one sentence each as this will help me to assess my study

N1: "To say something coming from other countries [alluding to the investigator's residence abroad] to do it here they could do it here in other activities they could do couldn't they?"

I: What is what?

N1: "Well it is good to come and do [this activity] for us but also here in the school they [the teachers] could do it or not?"

I: Would you like to do this activity in this school too?

N1: "Yes of course from time to time it is good" (CAH.Poor.Male.14yrs.)

The following participant not only states also a desire for more of these types of activities but also emphasises the applicability of the activity to other topics towards other aims.

How did you find the activity? Tell me how did you feel?

N1 "…then it would be very good to apply these talks but with more themes and more activities and towards other things" (MB.Poor.Male.13yrs)

It is here noted that the general appreciation of the focus group activity was in some cases articulated in a way that revealed a desire for more as well as that the format possessed qualities that could lend themselves to other topics outside the friendship domain, possibly even as elements in the school curriculum.

7.3.5. BENEFICIAL IMPLICATIONS OF FOCUS GROUPS SESSIONS

The citations discussed exemplify the positive impact experienced by the children according to their own evaluations of the activity. Learning, insights and new motivation to behaviour changed have been mentioned. In this last section additional comments have been gathered that testify to 'therapeutic-like' elements of the sessions. For most children the focus groups offered them for first time ever the opportunity to discuss their views and experiences on the theme of conflicts in friendship, what they feel, how they reason and how they normally behave. Indeed, during sincere conversations about conflict situations in their friendship relationship difficult issues surfaced that otherwise would not have been revealed.

Children apparently found the focus groups therapeutic, which was apparent from their comments as well as the depth of information supplied, thus confirming that the appropriate method of data gathering was employed.

The following participant states that this was an exceptional activity in an otherwise relatively dull life. He explains that the focus group discussion however was something enjoyable and touched his inner being, his emotions:

I: Was it difficult because there were tough questions? Was it difficult easy or how?

N4: "Teacher for me at the end the story also I do not see [experience] this every day I see boring things so that at home I always get up go to school then go home and every day is like this until the weekend then comes this (focus group discussion) is something different it was something fun something from the heart" (EH.Rich.Male.9yrs)

This older participant agreeing with the above mentioned statements, describes the session as good having also left an imprint in his inner being as he disclosed his feelings in a comfortable and tranquil manner and feels so at the end of the session.

I: How did I make you feel how did you feel when I asked you things?

N2: "Good because we let out what we had inside comfortable and calm" (AB.Poor.Male.13yrs)

The 'letting out' of inner feelings or thoughts through the discussions does imply a therapeutic element experienced by the participant above.

This citation is discussed between two older children who each has a best friend who also took part in this focus group. Although these two pair of friends had relatively normal long-time friendships the questions during the session seemed to have triggered some disturbing issues that had never been dealt with. The boys quoted below belonged to different friendship pairs:

I: It was interesting why?

N3: “It was nice and I mean good because we reflected and everything that we’ve never said to each other before we said it today”

N1: “I unburden myself somehow” (EH.Rich.Male.13yrs)

N3: “Yes we unburdened ourselves” (EH.Rich.Male.13yrs)

Thus the focus group session provided a platform for these friends to heal their feelings as they expressed themselves and bring a restorative effect to the friendship, their gestures exhibited a sense of relief (sighing and lowered body tonus).

The element of relief was also evident in the comments this girl made about the focus group session. She found it enjoyable and also clearly states that opening up to let out her feelings when discussing a problem was something good as well as to arrive at a concrete solution.

N5: “It was fun and at the same time one had tried to unburden because sometimes to speak about a problem and one finds a concrete solution” (CS.Middle.Female.14yrs)

Finally, the following girl explains that the focus group session was a good experience because she felt a climate where she could be open and vulnerable, which was a relief for her:

Well then let's continue with the theme how did you feel because now we are coming to the end what do you think?

N3: “Well, I thought it was good eh cheerful fun because here one could express things and then here one unburdens oneself and expresses everything one feels” (MB.Poor.Female.14yrs)

The motif of ‘unburdening’ oneself is a strong indicative of the therapeutic effect of the sessions and adds further value to this methodology in addition to the reflective and pedagogical assets discussed above. The repertoire of elements appreciated by the children thus include entertainment, learning, reflecting, creating meaning, motivation to change, spontaneous practical conflict resolution during session, and emotional relief afterwards. The variety of aspects by far transcends the title given to this chapter, “Pedagogical Insights”. Nevertheless pedagogical ambitions obviously encompass elements other than mere transmission and retention of information, and therefore the insights gleaned tells us a lot about how a facilitator/teacher can create a situation calibrated in content and interpersonal dynamics that in turn can stimulate and enable children to participate in creating powerful experiences…

For the child below the sense of freedom not feeling under somebody else’s control, nor having the obligation to participate was an important factor for him to favour the focus group session and described it as uncommon. He argues that his desire to participate was born from the inside and found it so useful that he wants this method to be applied to other themes. He makes two particular observations about what he values. One is the fact that he can speak out

his thoughts and second is that he felt good during the exchange as it was operated in the focus group session.

How did you find the activity tell me how did you feel?

N1: “To me it also caught my attention because one gives his point of view and is free I mean the therapy well not therapy but the talk as it was performed here feels good it doesn’t feel as traditional because one is obliged to do that but because it is born in you to do this then it would also be very good to apply these talks but with more themes and more activities and towards other things” (MB.Poor.Male.13yrs)

In sum the feedback from the children in the focus groups discussions demonstrated a ‘spot-on’ educational experience. The data showed that the children valued talking, listening, being listened to and reflecting on conflicts concerning their friendship relationships and the aspect of forgiveness. Data also revealed that the dilemma narrative was relevant and elicited the sharing of feelings which the children found useful. It was also manifested in the data an incentive for behaviour change. The facilitating role of the investigator was appreciated and children valuing the focus group activity asked for more. Finally results showed a beneficial direction expressed by some children in the focus group sessions. A discussion on some of the themes emerged from the data here follows, such as the relevance of the methodology and the aspect of listening from the part of the investigator among others this leads to cascade on the relevance to peace education.

7.4. DISCUSSION

Having presented the results from the evaluations provided by the children the following section contain discussion on the insights drawn from this material. First, from a methodological perspective the dilemma technique together with subsequent questions appear to have been important for the children. Also the relevance of the topic, ‘Conflict in Friendship’, was seen in the engaged discussion in all groups and explicitly confirmed by the children in the evaluations. An additional methodological aspect was the importance of having a dialogue with the children who, according to their own testimonies valued being treated as ‘subjects’ rather than ‘objects’ within an authentic relationship. Here, the children explained they received support by the investigator enabling them to have exchange with others and also for creating own meanings. Second, the impact of the sessions was indicated as the children expressed aspects they valued: Talking and listening to one another, reflecting on own behaviour and difficult feelings, learning to know how to fix a conflict, being motivated to change attitudes and behaviour, unburdening themselves and finally resolving relational issues between participants during the session. In the discussion below the insights relating to the methodology and to the impact will be further elaborated and discussed in the light of current research.

7.4.1. CONFLICT IN FRIENDSHIP

One important insight related to the aspect of peaceful and prosocial behaviour is the confirmation of the choice of the friendship domain for the dilemma narrative. Children displayed an engaging attitude in the topic of conflict in a friendship through serious analysis of the dilemma as well as their daily life disagreements. The friendship relationship was highly valued by both younger and older children who strongly argued for the need to solve the conflict in order to save the friendship. Indeed, the children said that if the children in the dilemma were friends indeed they should be able to solve conflicts. Similarly the scholarly debate has found that young children and adolescents 'spend much time with their friends' suggesting that preserving these friendship relationships regardless of conflicts is of critical importance to them (Shantz & Hartup 1995). Moreover, the participants revealed that these topics are not part of regular discussions at school neither with parents. To dialogue about disagreements with friends and how to fix problems just simply does not occur. The opportunity to ventilate these for children important topics was therefore greatly appreciated.

The focus group participants expressed that emotions can be managed by expressing that one does not need to be jealous at others and that one must respect the friend when he fights. With hindsight it makes sense to focus friendship in discussions with children as learning how to manage friendships in turbulent times and learning how to deal with threats to split the relationship already at a young age could have a socially stabilizing effect. Hodge et al., stress the importance of friendships developmentally and socially: "Children friendships serve many developmental functions. Friendships are contexts for learning social skills, are information sources for self-knowledge and self-esteem and provide emotional and cognitive resources for support and coping as well as practice for later relationships" (1999:95). Schools witness these types of conflicts daily in friendship relationships where they could play a beneficial role for development. Further, Selman et al., state that "[c]onflict among close friends is inevitable if the friendship is truly close" (1997:32).

In addition to the topic of friendship, the dilemma methodology, borrowed from Kohlberg's seminal works (1958) and although most of his dilemmas are unacquainted to most persons (Rosen 1980) the dilemma in this study proved to be highly relevant and close to the reality to both age groups of participants. Moreover, the dilemma was designed to be relevant to both genders so that the group of girls discussed a conflict between two female characters and the boys dealt with a conflict between two male friends. That hypothetical narrative contained a story very close to their reality the children affirmed through high appreciation and excitement during the discussions as well as through explicit feedback in their evaluations at the end of the sessions. It is here admitted that the narrative dilemma was not a real life story, but it was sufficiently realistic that no child argued the story was far-fetched. Instead, the ease by which the children moved from discussing the narrative to share about their real life conflict

situations and relational struggles however adds support to the validity of the results obtained in this investigation.

Another methodological aspect of the dilemma is that it depicted the emotions of the two friends in conflict, something that both younger and older children discussed. Moreover, the children spontaneously proceeded to share about their own feelings when they find themselves in conflictive episodes. Both younger and older expressed great appreciation for being given the opportunity to voice their emotions in the focus groups. This is a step further than just intellectual reasoning. Thus the discussions also incorporated the children's feelings and behaviour when in a real conflict which constituted a key objective of this qualitative study.

Finally, the children's feedback also contained notions on the perceived wider applicability of the methodology used by proposing to apply the focus groups talks with more themes and more activities towards other goals than handling conflicts. In sum it is here noted that both the content of the narrative and the dilemma format was valued among the focus group participants. In addition, that this format well functioned as basis for discussions that were enjoyed by the children and enabled smooth transitions to sharing about real life issues.

7.4.2. POSING QUESTIONS

The second main methodological aspect that appeared in the evaluations was the questions used by the investigator. As stated already in the empirical section it was here intended to give children a voice and a concrete manner to achieve this aim was using the question methodology, by many called Socratic questioning. Paul and Elder explain that Socratic questioning is systematic questioning that can be employed to pursue thinking in a variety of ways for diverse functions. It can be to reconnoitre complex ideas, to find out the truth of things, to unlock problems or reveal suppositions etc. The authors state that "Socratic questioning is systematic, disciplined and deep and usually focus on foundational concepts, principles, theories and issues or problems" (2007:36). Thus, this methodology suited very well the aim of this study in finding in-depth 'truth' through systematic follow-up questioning that would guide the participants' reasoning to create own meanings and identify problem solving strategies as they affirmed was the case in the evaluation.

The investigator's fundamental pedagogical approach was to ask questions in a 'Socratic' manner based on the dilemma narrative. In using this methodology the investigator was guided by Selman's comprehensive work on questioning children to explore their way of reasoning in conflict within the friendship domain (1980). The ambition of this study was to minimize influences from anticipating response patterns from the children and other biases or manipulations as far as humanly possible. Instead the aim was to propose questions that would encourage participants to reason as suggested by Yang et al.: "Asking thoughtful questions plays an important role in inducing students' higher-level cognitive processes, such

as self-reflection, revision, social negotiation, and conceptual change of student misconceptions, all of which are integral to critical thinking" (2005:164).

As the focus group's children were stimulated by the dilemma conflict between two friends they entered a thinking process when asked the basic initial question "What is the problem here?" which then were followed-up by further questions to get a deeper understanding of the issue. This approach is in agreement with Paul who argues that when one is aiming to reason about something at least one clear question has to be posed or one problem needs to be unravelled (1993). When discussing reasoning and creative thinking Paul argues that people began to create a rationality that they have not used before bringing into existence new enunciations of their objectives and reasons to substantiate their point (1993). In Paul's own words: "We bring new assumptions. We form new concepts. We ask new questions. We make new inferences. Our viewpoint is worked out in a new direction, one in which it has never worked out before" (1993:26). This can also be said of the children in this study as they went through a reasoning process that led them to imagine news scenarios through a dilemma. Here complex thinking was required which resulted in their realisation that their conceptions, attitudes and feelings were not as they previously had assumed or were viewed differently by the children than before the sessions.

Important for the evaluation of the focus groups sessions was to find out the relevance of the story and of the investigator's follow-up questions. Some of the older children valued both the realism as well as the usefulness of the focus group discussion including the questions posed by the investigator as well as the peer's comments. Thus it was good they were asked about what they experience and "you made us think about the things that happens to most teenagers". The children shared their experience that usually nobody understands how crucially important it is when their best friend goes with another child. Also about the significance of "being asked to put ourselves in the position of others and apply it in our lives and not to lose a long-time friendship".

According to statements from participating children the questioning approach revealed that the investigator has a role in actively participating in the conversations stimulating the children to expand their perspective and empowering them to survey hitherto unchartered territory. These experiences of the children likely entailed discovering that somebody is interested in their thinking. Moreover, the testimonies from the evaluations also indicate that new thoughts and insights had surfaced.

An important insight was that in order to ask relevant questions, the investigator needed to enter into the child's world, as far as an adult could, in order to try to hear and understand their reasoning and feelings from their perspective. It was indeed a perspective taking exercise to perform the focus groups sessions and the children seem to have perceived and cherished this quality. The conclusion drawn here is that the questions strongly and positively influenced the interactions between the children and the investigator as indicated by the appreciation expressed in their assessments of the focus group sessions.

7.4.3. LISTENING AND BEING LISTENED TO

The aspect of talking and listening was an activity particularly emphasised as positive by the children in their evaluations. The action of giving the participants opportunity to give feedback obviously required further listening by the investigator and the peers. Involving study participants in evaluations of research in the social sciences is a frequently discussed topic in the scholarly debate. There is a belief that feedback from participants may improve the empirical approach devised. Children as participants appear however to be less well represented in this type of consultations. The call to consider listening to children in scientific investigations and the sometimes limited practice of it has been commented on by Barron (2000) who assert that social researchers' acknowledgment of the importance of listening to children is increasing. "However, such an emergent appreciation of the need to allow children to be heard in the research context is not present in all social research" (Grover 2004:89). Stafford et al. go as far as stating: "Striking by its absence is any attempt to seek the views of children and young people themselves about the relative effectiveness of different research methods and approaches to consulting children about the relative effectiveness of different research methods and approaches to consulting children" (2003:361). In this study participants displayed awareness of their active participation as reflected by statements saying that they have solved a dilemma problem and have contributed to the investigator's work.

Having discussed the important aspect of involving the participants by listening to them the next aspect to consider is the listening process itself. What does it entail to listen? According Caramelli the understanding of 'listening' involves an act, a performance, which becomes a "mediator between the command and its goal. Thus, 'listening' would easily be regarded as a name of the phenomenon, that is, 'obedience' (listen = obey from ob + audire)" (1989:8-9). Subsequently an association between listening and obedience occurs here by connoting focus and attention on the other which in turn places accountability on the listener (Lipari 2010). Listening therefore requires opening up to the other, agree to the other's talk, to enter the listener by streaming through his or her inner being. How did the children listen to one another? For example, children conferred that they have learnt from others, that they go through the same problems and have similar difficult feelings when having conflicts. This type of thoughtful statements would have not been uttered had not the children attentively listened to each other.

Koskinen and Lindström suggest the following definition: "[L]istening is a fundamental and complex phenomenon in the encounter with other human beings, an integral part of communication ethics and an ethical caring relation" (2013:146). The authors also emphasize a virtuous aspect by viewing listening as an ethical behaviour which is in agreement with Lipari (2010): "…when we make a space for it, a home for it within ourselves. Listening is thus a dwelling place from where we offer our ethical response, our hospitality, to the other and to

the world. Listening then becomes an invitation, a hosting" (2013:146-147). Interestingly, a younger child said to have felt loved in the session and another mentioned to have felt encouraged and respected by the investigator. Thus, the aspects of encounter and hospitality become characteristics to talking, listening and being listened to as the children experienced love and care in the way they were approached during the discussions.

Another dimension to listening is added by Todd (2002) who associates listening as 'taking leave' indicating the active listener's giving space to the speaker to develop and expand the subject. The speaker is here allowed to talk and freely convey what engages him or her while the listener is 'taking leave' from other commitments in order to be there for the other. It is here suggested that to a certain extent listening is a denial of other activities, a denial that brings pleasure to both listener and speaker. Lipari also sees listening as a kind of denial where listening "is where I make a space where I am not—where I have, however, temporarily, renounced my projects, goals, and understandings in order to listen to be with the other" (2010:350). This is clearly a practical approach to listening that connotes a high level of intentionality. Fiumara further develops the notion of a cost involved when focusing another person: ''[T]he cognitive dedication to the word of the other demands ... a kind of inner abnegation. Without this inner renunciation the individual can only hold a dialogue with himself'' (quoted in Lipari 2010:125). In the same vein and implicitly adding perspective taking Martinsen (2006) points out that "listening focuses one's attention toward something outside of self, as an appeal or a demand to find out and to listen with openness and sensitivity to what the other wants to convey in the conversation" (quoted in Koskinen & Lindström 2013:146). These views mentioned above hence add depth and richness to the process of listening, providing a reminder that listening – at its best – constitutes a profound interpersonal exchange. Also from an investigative perspective it is possible to view the focus group research method as a relational happening that requires competence, a complex research skill needed to obtain valid data in an environment were all participants in the dialectical interaction are ethically treated.

The data show that children from both poor and rich sectors manifested expressions of appreciation for being listened to by peers and the investigator. The action of 'feeling heard' and further specifying that they listened and talk to other children from whom they knew nothing about in a short time was a significant experience. A sense of intimacy seemed to have been established in the focus groups evident through very open comments the children shared about their own shortcomings. These include strong negative feelings of anger and envy, or confessing wrong behaviour and lack of emotion management, phenomena that required a sense of trust in each other. Further, other comments in the same vein add weight to this notion; for instance children mentioning that listening to oneself and listening to others was good as well as this helps understand "how not to think about a problem" suggesting the possibility that when a conflict happens to you one should also listen to other people and receive their comments as advice, as this can be helpful for daily life problems. The testimonies from these children are all the more encouraging as there can be difficulties

enabling the children to contribute as required for the study purpose. Hill asserts in this regard that "[t]he challenge is how best to enable children to express their views to an adult researcher and how to 'maximise children's ability to express themselves at the point of data-gathering; enhancing their willingness to communicate and the richness of the findings" (1997:180). The feedback in this study indeed gives us cues and inspires us to continue learning how to best dialogue with children in research and educational settings.

The research community however still struggles to interact with and involve children meaningfully. Christensen and James make this humbling observation: "[W]e are still not good enough at hearing them, in the sense of taking full account of what they tell us" (2000:259). A link is could here be suggested between a more inclusive approach when doing research on/with children and increased quality and richness of the data made available by the children to the investigator. Coming back to Dewey's notion that "[k]nowing is not the act of an outside spectator but of a participator" (1929:196), can indeed by applied to the investigator in that sense that engaging with children under study would yield better insights concerning the children than mentally standing far off as a detached observer.

Cook-Sather (2002:3) argues that permitting student's to speak out their viewpoints reveal to us those otherwise hidden opinions of the ones who live the effects the education system day-to-day and whose views are so valuable for the benefit of professionals involved in education and students themselves. Based on this premise Cook-Sather calls "to listen to what students have to say about school" and puts children's perspectives at the very centre in her own research by consulting them on questions about their educational interests, the curriculum etc. In his book 'Border Crossing' Giroux confronts the educational system for it is hindering the voices of the students to be heard: "I find too many students who come from places where they are afraid to speak. They have been silenced all their lives" (1992:158). Similarly, Punch sees children as neglected providers of information: "Children are not used to expressing their views freely or being taken seriously by adults because of their position in adult-dominated society (2002:325). Indeed it was observed in the current study that a small group of children coming from particularly poor socio-economic background experienced difficulty in verbalising their thoughts. It was not because they were shy but because they were not used to being asked to talk about things that matter to them such as conflicts in friendship. But these children were exceptions in the current study. The majority including those as young as six years old assured they liked to "talk with others in the group", "to talk about being friends" and "to talk about forgiveness". Thus, the children participating in the current study inform us that talking is important for them. Although not a question the current study aims to address it is here suggested that talking also is important for the children's development. Support for this notion is for instance provided by Dunn: "Children form specific expectations and beliefs about teaching and learning relationships and are motivated to understand the social rules and relationships of their cultural world because they 'need to get things done' (1988:189). Moreover, Bruner argues that children learn language through guided participation from more experienced peers and adults (1983). From a socio-cultural perspective Mercer et al. (1999)

critic Piaget's cognitive development for focussing individual behaviour neglecting interactive behaviour. These statements from the literature is in agreement with the children in the current study who claimed to have had genuine learning experiences and acquired real insights through talking with the other children and with the investigator in the focus group session.

Practical appropriate methodology operated within a respectful relational attitude constitutes a researchers' call. Hill discusses the effectiveness of honest conversations while combining communication skills and various kinds of questions including understanding of the form of communication individual children preferred (1997). We have already discussed the Socratic questioning as a tool useful for triggering in-depth reasoning used in this study. This questioning approach was dependent on deeply engaged listening on part of the investigator, with note taking of what the children shared as well as repeating their answers so that they would feel respected and be assured that they ideas counted. In addition they were given the opportunity to correct or enhance their answers often resulting in open and insightful responses, which facilitated the creation of new ideas and a sense of empowering - 'yes I can'. Listening as an empowering devise has been discussed in health care contexts. For instance, in nursing literature listening is illustrated and described as empowering according to Alligood: "For example, simply being respectful of the person's knowledge and expertise about their own health and illness and listening to person's stories is empowering" (1997:693). This can be illustrated by a six years old child who said that by listening a lot his 'brain became powerful' for he 'has learned many words' and he also feels that he has 'become clever'. Besides a sharp ability to identify his own inner processes this child is also affirming that engagement in listening and talking is an empowering experience.

In fact, the dialogues of the present study evolved during the focus groups conversations between students and also with the investigator showing that the children engaged themselves in the talk so that they were motivated to share deep descriptions of their reasoning about their own behaviour and attitudes when facing conflicts. To talk about "what happens in life" the children said to helped them be more conscious about what they do in some situations. However, when they stop and think they realise what is they do and the very actions show "who one truly is" the children insightfully concluded. The experiences of sharing and listening to one another did not only empower the children to discover aspects of their own behaviour. Some children expressed that the experience in the focus groups was fun and at the same time unburdening because it provided not only room for talking about a problem also for one finding a concrete solution. Other children said that it was good because they reflected and had the opportunity to open up to utter everything that they have never said to the friend before: "Yes we unburdened ourselves". The fact that sharing about emotional reactions was an "unburdening" experience in turn indicated that the sessions had achieved an unexpected level of impact.

In conventional education the student interacts with the school environment and this should also include his or her peers. This appeared to be the fact for the focus group children who felt enriched by exposure to the views of their peers, indicating they had been listening and valued their contributions. In their feedback the children stated that friendship was valuable for them, that taking perspective was a good exercise because they could feel what the other felt. They also appreciated discussing with the other children how to handle conflicts within the friendship relationship and the function of forgiveness to address and solve a conflict. Hiebert et al. elaborate on this aspect: "A second responsibility for students is to recognize that learning means learning from others, taking advantage of others' ideas and the results of their investigations. This requires students to listen" (1996:16). Similarly, the importance of listening to and interacting with peers in this study is reflected in the views of the children on the perceived impact of intensive listening and intensive learning during the focus group discussions. Hiebert et al., continue: "We have in mind more than listening out of politeness or respect, but also listening because of a genuine interest in what the speaker has to say. In this sense, listening serves both a social and intellectual function. To become full participants in a community of peers doing mathematics, students must become good listeners" (1996:16). Interesting here is Hiebert's notion of 'participants in a community'. Community building is dependent on social interactions where listening to each other's views would constitute a cornerstone. If so, one may suggest that the listening and sharing in the focus groups had positive relational or social influence in the group. From the investigator's perspective it became clear that when children are genuinely listened to they may become important sources of information. Moreover, when this information influences their context (i.e. adults) the children operate as agents actively enriching the people around them.

At this point it is suggested that the approach to listen to children involved in investigations to gain further insights to the research approach considered, ongoing or concluded could be an integral part of the methodological 'tool box'. Within the framework of this PhD thesis these evaluations obviously did not feed into the planning of the focus groups conducted as they had not been considered beforehand the empirical research plan. The responses received after each session corroborated however the focus group approach chosen – which is the main conclusion of this chapter - and the accumulating feedback did not call for major changes in the methodology. And one major factor behind these confirming evaluations is the appreciation expressed by the children for listening and being listened to. One may suggest that incorporating the evaluation as a separate discussion point in the focus groups sessions further enhanced the sense of involvement as well as the experience of being listened to. From a methodological perspective the question on how input could have influenced the design of the focus group study and execution would of course be a logical sequel to this analysis and is worthy to be considered for future studies.

7.4.4. VALUING REFLECTION

The children's evaluations of the evaluation activity demonstrated their capacity to reflect deeply and carefully about things that matter to them and as expressed by them they appreciated reflecting although it sometimes did not come easily. Reflection turned meaningful for the children and an opportunity for contemplating changes in their lives. For the current investigation these results are relevant positive data that validated the session proving the importance of motivating children to exercise reflection as they learn through dialogical exchanges.

In his discussion about Dewey's concept of 'reflective thinking' Baron gives the following helpful definition: "This term [reflective thinking] refers to thinking in only one of the word's many senses, i. e., that which tries to reach a goal, resolve a state of doubt, or decide on a course of action, in contrast to thinking as the content of a stream of consciousness, or to 'think' as a synonym of 'believe'. This is a type of thinking that considers options and reasons before choosing a course of action or adopting a belief" (Dewey 1933:291). Baron continues by stating that "one advantage of reflective thought over merely impulsive and merely routine activity ... [is that] ... it enables us to act in a deliberate and intentional fashion to attain future objects or to come into command of what is now distant and lacking" (Baron 1981:291). Baron's notions well relate to the input from some of the participants. Children's comments highlight the conducive environment of the focus group to gain important awareness about oneself through deliberation. This self-reflection process appears to have opened the door to significant insights about children's inner world by analysis of their own actions acknowledging that they do "things they don't want to do" and yet they do "mess up" as result sadness is felt over own bad behaviour. Further, some children concluded that it was good because everybody communicates their own reflection by sharing about it, for example "what I have done why I did it and how am I going to solve it". The participants' self-reflection often led to questioning inner motives, consideration of an alternative course of action, and thereby building a foundation for making better choices in the future. The process of reflecting may be stimulated by clarifying and articulating one's ideas and listening to others' perspectives.

7.4.5. PERSPECTIVE TAKING

Perspective taking constitutes a developmental red thread in the current study and it also clearly emerges in the children's evaluations discussed in this chapter. In this material some of the more mature children expressed appreciation for the opportunity to exercise perspective taking in the discussion and that this in turn led them during the discussion to apply perspective taking to their own situation involving for instance relational problems with a friend. In some cases the perspective taking stimulated new insights and moreover, the utility of applying perspective taking in a more systematic way in the future when confronted with a conflictive situation became a new option for some of the children. If so, then a broader

repertoire of non-violent conflict resolution strategies could become available for those children, including negotiations. For negotiating conflicts a degree of perspective taking is required (Selman & Schultz 1990) which in turn necessitates reflection. In their work on fostering friendship among children using pair therapy Selman et al. argue that retrospective reflection and ongoing reflection can function as a tool for evaluating and understanding behaviour, which then can be used in future conflict situations (1997). Interestingly, in the evaluations of this study some of the children claimed that the focus group discussions had helped them realise that it is possible to understand a friend's feelings even when these feelings appear hostile to them. Selman and Schultz argue that reflection during or after a relational interaction can serve as an instrument to better assess and understand own and others' actions. In doing so a child is prompted to integrate a consideration of both self and other in his or her understanding, emotions and general tendency in social interactions (1990). Such a stance will of course affect social interactions beyond the 'conflict with a friend' phenomenon focussed in this study. Indeed, a child suggested that perspective taking could help to better understand newcomers at school and thereby one can better support others. As a matter of fact this child was very interested in having another focus discussion on this particular theme. According to Selman et al., a child who utilises a reflective social perspective will often adopt positive involvement through considering own and others views, taking into account temperament makeup, as well as own distinctive and other negotiation goals (1997). In sum, reflection and perspective taking appears to have helped the focus group children to realise about the needs of the other and contributed to considering non-violent responses to conflict with friends. If the lessons learnt during the focus group sessions are then tried out in real life this may enhance development of perspective taking abilities (Selman 1986) and will contribute to improved social interpersonal relations which in turn creates more peaceful environments.

Another aspect emerged in the data displayed some participants mentioning that they were helped to voice their own point of view by listening and reflecting on the opinions of others and could draw out their own meanings without any input from the researcher in content neither meanings. Children perceived the session as a platform for interaction and generation of new own thoughts and did not feel just as passive participants being consuming experience and knowledge from the outside. Accordingly, the investigator acting as a facilitator by engaging in deep understanding of the children's reasoning following up with relevant questions enabled them to reflect for the discovery and creation of their own meanings. Indeed, the children demonstrated usage of reflection and complex reasoning to arrive to their conclusions about their thoughts and emotions as well as how their behaviour would look like in a conflict scenario with a friend. An environment was apparently created in the focus groups that promoted or at least allowed the children's independent curiosity and reflection through dynamic social stimuli.

From another perspective the participants also stated that it was a good thing to "sit here talk and reflect", and also "it was good to reflect on who we are and how we behave". How come

that the sense of realisation through reflection including cases where reflection had revealed negative habits or attitudes was so appreciated by the children? Why did they still find reflection useful? One can summarise the concept of useful reflection as the mindful consideration and analysis of attitudes and actions for the purpose of learning (Dewey 1933). Reflection in this case provided the children an opportunity to pause and untangle as well as organise their thoughts and emotions throughout the discussion, they considered various possible interpretations and created meaning. And as a result this new meaning became a learning experience, which according to their own testimonies could guide the children's thoughts and actions when facing a conflict situation. Thus it is here suggested that creation of meaning that results in empowering through attitude and behaviour changes may have far-reaching consequences for a child when cultivated and facilitated by responsible caregivers. What is here learnt from the focus group children holds great promise for the education system. It is here suggested that the great potential residing in educational environments that allow children's own creation of meaning through reflection which in turn may contribute to a healthy personal and social development. In this context it is interesting to note Barr's et al. observation from a study on students' 'informed civic reflection' focusing ethical decisions and choices, where the authors suggest that skilled facilitation to stimulate students reflections in socio-ethical contexts is of key importance for a successful intervention (Barr et al. 2015).

From another angle, Dewey (1986) stated that the educator or parent etc., finds it problematic to apply for rational aims the natural curiosity of linguistic questioning. Here curiosity is discussed by Dewey in the context of learning to train the child to think and reflect, which was in a sense though briefly the experience children had during the focus groups sessions.

For some children the reflection process was not an easy experience neither the verbalisation of these reflections yet all of them produced some comment that range from a word to a very well developed insight; in this study all comments were given a place and value. For example a child using reflection to analyse how his negative feelings can affect decision making stated that the discussion help the realisation about how decisions are made in particular situations such as when 'feeling envy or something like that'. This finding is aligned with the conceptualisation of wisdom as the ability to understand is of value (Carr 2011), which is expressed by this child acknowledging the value of reflecting on how his negative feelings can affect his choices. Emphasis in the importance of being open to experience and to reflect making sense of it is crucial for the development of wisdom (Ibid). Also in this respect the child's statement above may serve as an illustration in that he was open to the experience of reflecting, open to reflect on previous experiences and trying to make sense of his own behaviour. Further, from a more practical pedagogical perspective Carr suggests that "enabling children to reflect on their learning is to contribute to their developing views about how they learn, and their identities as learners" (Carr 2011:258). Here, many children admitted that reflection, listening and sharing with peers indeed had contributed to their learnings and probably the utility of these methods of acquiring knowledge and insights was a real discovery for these children.

Eleanor Duckworth describes reflective teaching as a kind of research where the questions a teacher asks are "the same as those that a researcher into the nature of human learning wants to ask ... [A teacher] is in a position through teaching to pursue questions about the development of understanding that one could not pursue in any other way" (quoted in Rodgers 2006:235). The application of reflective teaching clearly needs to be adapted to the subject of study. What is suggested in this work is the clear utility of reflective methodology when exploring interpersonal conflicts their handling and resolution, as suggested by the value the children have given practicing reflection on this topic.

In sum, the focus group children emphasised in the evaluations the importance of reflection both as a learning experience that helped them gain new insights about themselves and others. Reflection about what is friendship, how to face conflict and why and how to maintain the friendship relationship, as well as an exercise that was pleasant to practise, although some realisations were difficult to acknowledge.

Reflection in Dewey's terms is still highly relevant as a practice for the development of the child in their meaning making and empowerment. This in turn becomes a challenge for researchers and educators in terms of using also the same a reflexive approach a habit to improve both the quality of the work-relationship with the participants and the data obtained.

7.4.6. A DIALOGICAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHILDREN AS SUBJECTS

Approaching Subjects through deep questions: This investigation aimed to give children control of their dialogues and allow open discussions for reasoning and their feelings and handling of their conflicts, the main research theme of this study. To reduce the risk of missing authentic, thoughtful and rich data from the children the overarching methodological ambition was that children's contributions should as little as possible be restricted by the investigator's presuppositions or through rigid focus group settings and questioning approach when asked to share about their opinion and experiences. Therefore to view the participating children as 'subjects' was the guiding principle for the current study rather than treating them as study 'objects' who are requested to answer questions succinctly so that the researcher can move on to the next question without regard for what the child really 'carries inside'. In practical terms this principle was applied according to the Socratic questioning approach: Instead of providing direct answers, the Socratic questioning approach stimulates students' minds by continually probing into the subject with thought-stimulating questions (Paul 1993). Here the use of questions guides the researcher in the search for truth inside every individual.

Unfamiliarity and difficulties: This way of interacting with children is however not all that common. Indeed, many children participating in the current study showed unfamiliarity with being asked to elaborate on their answers rather than just using only yes/no answers. The latter practice is a common practise at schools where examining for retention of information constitute a main pedagogical goal of questions. While asking the children about the focus

groups sessions they expressed great appreciation of the activity. Concerning the questioning approach used the children said clearly that "it was very good that the questions were not simply of the 'Yes' or 'No' type", but that they needed to explain their answers well. Nevertheless, in some cases the questions were regarded challenging. When the investigator probed deeper for potential difficulties in the dialogues it was evident that some children found the questions "a little bit difficult" because "sometimes I didn't know what to answer". These responses could partly be explained by the fact that the children were not used to this type of organized dialogues, as they themselves asserted the activity was unique in their experience. Hence, an important insight is the investigator's need of awareness and sensitivity when a child needs extra encouragement to express his or her opinions and feelings, but without compromising the overall questioning approach.

Grounded on the questioning approach described above, the focus groups consequently cannot be realised unless there is a genuine dialogue between the participants and the researcher. Adding a philosophical consideration to this discussion one can here learn from the field of philosophy of education where an aim is to consider dialogue as fundamental for integrating cognition and affection. According to Buber the essence of education is a dialogue taking place in a relationship: "[Dialogue] … is the extension of one's own concreteness, the fulfilment of the actual situation of life, the complete presence of the reality in which one participates. Its elements are, first, a relation, of no matter what kind, between two persons, second, an event experienced by them in common, in which at least one of them actively participates, and, third, at the same time lives are transformed through the common event from the standpoint of the other" (Friedman 2002:115). The educative event Buber envisaged thus is built upon reciprocity embodied in the dialogue between the involved persons. The reciprocity in turn is underpinned by the educator consciously embracing equality in the dialogical experience giving recognition to the pupil/student. In the current study equality and reciprocity were shown through at least two methodological components in the dialogues of the focus group discussions. First, the investigator took notes of what the children said, repeated what was said to make sure the comments had been captured properly and gave the child the opportunity to make corrections if needed. Through this methodology it was shown that the children's individual opinions counted and in doing so the children were acknowledged and affirmed. Second, the invitation to provide feedback, positive or negative, concerning the focus group sessions further accentuated the recognition given the children.

Another concept that is closely related to reciprocity and recognition in dialogue is authenticity. Buber argues that it is the encounter or dialogue that in fact constitutes the person explaining that the 'I' becomes through the 'thou'. In his own words Buber states that "[a]ll real life is encounter" (Vermes 1988:47), which requires a reciprocal relation with the other sustained by love as well as by a commitment to each other. Buber further states that when this happens "two people reveal you to one another" (Vermes 1988:49). Hence a dialogue is here viewed as an interaction between two persons devoting each other's best to a form of relationship and this dialogue in turn requires a genuineness or authenticity

component. Schmid observes that Buber's dialogue is predominantly imprinted by authenticity: "... the 'authenticity of being' instead of the 'breaking-in of seeming', of appearance only" (2001:222). According Johannesen authenticity signifies being 'present', all the participants are compelled to carrying their whole being authentically into the dialogue (1971). Genuine revelation involves authenticity and it happens in a humble and receiving posture, which is contrary to a defensive, deceiving, pretending or arrogant attitude which in turn hinder the dialogue or encounter. Hence an authentic attitude becomes critical for a researcher to enter a dialogue with the subjects in order to create environments that are mutually enjoyable and productive, which in turn will result in reliable data. In the focus group evaluations authenticity may be reflected in the fact that that children experienced freedom to share deep concerns even acknowledgement of own mistakes and failures when handling conflicts. For example, children revealed strong negative emotions and confessed negative risk taking behaviours. Thus, the dialogue seemed to have created an authentic environment as seen in the deliberate vulnerability of the children. Moreover this vulnerability and authenticity was highly appreciated and regarded helpful by many of the children.

In the context of Buber's dialogue concept, Kramer and Gawlick argue that in "[a]ttaining authenticity, each person is called forth to respond authentically in the world" (2003:110). In these authors' view authenticity is required of every person who is involved in a social interface including researchers in social science. A 'calling' to respond in a dialogical context by striving for an 'authentic attitude' as the relationship developed during the hour of the focus group session was central in this study.

Being present is being connected with the participants of the study. For the current work it meant that the researcher was conscious of an inner sincere posture when approaching each child, demonstrating willingness to fully engage with the individual who is speaking and with the group that is listening. This meant concretely (as mentioned above) looking in the eyes of participants, making notes and being attentive to the content of what is being said and what it meant etc.), while holding an unassuming attitude.

The attitude of the researcher (as well as the teacher) will influence his or her own ability to absorb and correctly interpret information provided by the children. Already Dewey (1933) commented on how to listen attentively to children registering how they reason and learn, and interpreting their emotions: "The problem of the pupils is found in subject matter; the problem of the teachers is what the minds of pupils are doing with this subject matter ... The teacher must be *alive* to all forms of bodily expression of mental condition ... as well as sensitive to the meaning of all expression in words" (italics in original, Rodgers 2006: 211). This principle would hold for the teacher working in the conventional school setting as well as for the researcher. Moreover, an authentic attitude is one that facilitates building rapport and trust with the child in as much dignifying manner as possible. It is suggested that in the current study such rapport was established that facilitated for children to speak publicly about their private feelings though some admitted that sharing feelings can be a very difficult thing

to do. The feedback showed however that children did not feel mocked or insecure but instead appeared to have trusted their peers and the investigator. The children also found valuable the opportunity to exchange advice in the group.

A problem one may briefly mention in this context is the risk for unhealthy attachment despite the well-intended authentic engagement. To clearly identify warning signs is called for to prevent attachment particularly while doing research with children and around themes that are heavily charged with emotions and sometimes harsh realities.

Conducting candid focus group discussions with children on the theme 'conflict in friendship' poses additional challenges for the investigator in terms of providing a safe and open discussion climate. Kramer & Gawlick argue that "[d]ialogue becomes genuine when each of the participants is fully present to the other or others, openly attentive to all voices, and willing to be non-judgemental" opposite to what is called a dialogue that is "*technical* when the need to understand something, or gain information, is the focal point of the exchange. Thus it is a dialogue that aims to discuss taking a living relational attitude "we" perspective. (2003:76). The non-judgemental aspect of the dialogue represented a crucial attitude and practise while doing this research as the children shared their own real experiences, which in some cases displayed a high level of violence such as I don't care, only when he is bleeding I will stop' or 'He deserved to be beaten, I feel good'. According to Lawrence "being non-judgemental of the child is accepting his/her personality as it is" (2006:68), he develops further in proposing that it is the ability to separate the child from the action (2006). In the focus groups children experienced acceptance by freely expressing what they have done and heard non-judgement for what they did, however, following up questions enquiring on the conflict characteristics made children realise themselves that what they have done was inappropriate so they shared the following in the context of anger or using violence: "Some actions one does made one realise who one really is". Another child said "I don't think when I get angry". Statements like these would most likely not have surfaced had the investigator projected a judgemental attitude. As a matter of fact it was the investigator who placed herself in a vulnerable position before the children by inviting them to give feedback on the focus group sessions and on her own role.

7.4.7. GIVING CHILDREN A VOICE IN RESEARCH

In providing the children the opportunity to voice their opinions about the focus group sessions the participation of the children reached another level. In addition to being study subjects – not objects – they now became active participants and contributors of the study. Thomas and O'Kane (2000), who studied children's engagement in decision making processes and their interactions with adults, contend for a responsibility to achieve dialogues that assist children to exhibit their capabilities at both research and practice levels, which the authors regard fundamental for successful investigations. James has commented on the separate reality that emerges when children are given a voice, letting us know 'what it feels like to be a child' in a particular circumstance as opposed to being analysed in terms of adult theoretical

categories that serve adult agendas (1993:92). Likewise, in her study of the relevance of phenomenological data and the repercussions related to the aspect of power while doing research with children Grover emphasises the need to invite children to "provide data regarding their personal reflections on the topic studied or their experience as a research participant" (2004:82). Another example is Barron's study on youth violence in which she discusses her willingness to allow "children a direct voice and participation in the production of sociological data" (2000: 43).

Christensen and James subscribe to the idea of regarding children as active social actors in research and make the observation concerning the still traditionally oriented research that "[t]he approach that sees children as objects depends, and in part relies, on the exclusion of children from a voice in research" (2000:482). Typically the child research participant provides no input and is often neither heard nor even debriefed after the study. It is also argued that most often social research is not concerned with individual case studies, but rather with trends in group data (Thomas & O'Kane 2000). Grover notes that "[w]hat is clear from the academic study of children is that children have been virtually excluded as active participants in the research process; treated rather as 'objects of study'. When children are permitted in those rare cases to become active participants telling their own story in their own way, the research experience is often personally moving and meaningful and the data provided rich and complex" (Grover 2004:84). Being shown interest and freedom to express themselves and treated respectfully could then enhance children's abilities to participate and operationally it augments the quality of data gathering. Hence giving children a voice in the focus groups of the current study involved aspects such as intentionally see the children from a holistic perspective while having an inclusive approach and concretely make space for the children to participate actively, follow up their answers and issues that they wrestle with in a climate of respectful dialogues among equals. As a result the children felt free to speak up breaking hindrances and fear to open up, their deep reasoning showed engagement and capacity for reflection as well as ability to listen to others and take perspective on their issues. More in detail what is means to 'give a voice to the children' takes into account philosophical and practical aspects which are described in section 5.1.1.2.2. Further to give children a voice is both about attitude and competency to stablish a dynamic dialogical relationship embedded in care and respect involving a commitment to mutual improvement.

The evaluations of the focus groups sessions suggest a strong sense of participation, learning and contribution and it is here suggested that the children experienced empowerment and this aspect will be discussed further in this section. To assess the concept of empowerment we begin with 'The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child' (UNCRC). This document calls for children to be informed, involved and consulted concerning all decisions that involve their lives. The aspect of participation and control are fundamental constituents in the empowerment concept. This concept comprises understanding of personal control, association with others to accomplish goals, "and a critical awareness of the factors that hinder or enhance one's efforts to exert control in one's life" (Zimmerman & Warschausky

1998:4). Likewise, Rappaport views empowerment as a process through which individuals, organizations, and communities acquire command over problems affecting them (Rappaport 1987). The same idea is supported by Kellet based on her experience from involving children as researchers: "When children realise their research is valued and listened to by adults, they have an increased sense of personal worth, of childhood as an important stage of life and of their ability to influence the quality of that childhood" (2010). It is here argued that several aspects of empowerment mentioned by the authors above are represented in the current study. Although the aspect of being or feeling 'empowered' was not explicitly mentioned by any child they expressed intention and ability to change behaviour patterns which suggests a discovered awareness of empowerment. Children were informed that they are given the opportunity to contribute in focus group discussions and that their ideas would be valued as was the case of this study experienced a boost in their self-esteem. It can also be suggested that empowerment of children is an expression of respect for them. Stone argues that children feeling valued, they are strengthen in their personhood by experiencing self-respect which is needed for a healthy development: "Respecting children involves recognizing and accepting who they are and what they do" (1995:294). As has been argued above the children participating in the current study were viewed as subjects, which involves respect and acknowledgement of who they are and what they do. This in turn may have contributed to a sense of active participation that likely contributes to the 'empowerment' experience. The ambition of the focus group study did not intend actions for direct empowering of the children. The empowering effect here suggested by the evaluation results could however stem from the investigator's underlying aspiration embedded in the dynamics of the focus group situation itself to manage and regard every participant in a holistic manner.

Zimmerman dissects the concept of empowerment and proposes the following three entities: the intrapersonal, interactional and behavioural aspects of empowerment. The intrapersonal element of empowerment signifies the way persons view themselves internally (1995). Associating with the current study the children shared that the focus groups provided unique opportunities to express emotions and ideas they have. Some children admitted feeling inferior or "feeling like nothing" when having conflicts. Children also argued it was good to realise that their own mistakes and problems are common also to others in the group. A young child expressed that now he had a lot of words in his brain and that he has become by participating in the focus groups discussion. One could hence suggest that they gained more self-confidence as they verbalised their inner world.

Zimmerman's second element is interactional empowerment denoting people's use of their critical awareness for what is required for achieving their ambitions (1995). Concretely, this may include understanding of the various alternatives to solve a problem, impelling reasons, norms and values in the friendship domain etc. The dilemma story served as a platform for a hypothetical discussion for children to speak their ideas and reasoning about problematic situations and the way others and they themselves would feel and make decisions as well as how these decisions would influenced their relationships with their friends etc. Thus it is the

stimulus of their critical awareness during the discussion that contributed to made children feel empowered as they voiced their views, motives, judgements, critics etc.

The third element of empowerment is according to Zimmerman the behavioural aspect comprising actions that tackle wants or needs in a particular situation (1995). In the evaluations of the current study the children said that they were happy to solve the dilemma problem and this suggest a perception of agency that provided them a sense of empowerment. The fact that the children also said that now they now know how to handle a situation when facing a problem and that this in turn made them feel good. Even some of the younger children appreciated this learning experience explaining that it is important "to know how" to fix problems with your friends and that when having a fight they "have to forgive" afterwards, "one doesn't need to think that one is better than others", "one learned to hear the views of others when having a problem", and "one understands what the other feels when feeling envy". Many participating children felt they could now change some aspects of their lives through what they have experienced in the focus group session, and the satisfaction expressed by the children in association with these comments is likely supportive of this notion of empowerment.

In sum, the ethos of upholding the children in the focus groups as 'subjects' or 'agents' is supported by their own testimonies of creating solutions and gaining insights and motivation to apply these in real life – all characteristics of a stimulating and empowering experience. It is here suggested that the acknowledgement of the children as subjects taking a dialogical horizontal approach during the interaction contributed to the richness of the evaluations and of the focus groups discussions as a whole.

7.4.8. CORE PEDAGOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE EVALUATIONS

Core Pedagogical aspects of the evaluations and their Relevance for Peace Education: With the previous discussion on the characteristics of the focus group sessions highlighted by the children the relevance for peace education will now be specifically assessed. There are some key aspects that form the core of the evaluations: First, that the children valued being listened to and enjoyed listening to others and that they acknowledged genuine learning experiences through these interactions was evident. This observation also suggests that the children experienced recognition where giving and receiving respectful attention fostered a discursive climate of equality. It is therefore suggested that a productive and wholesome dialogical climate was created by participants facilitated by the investigator in the focus group sessions.

Second, the children appreciated reflecting on their issues such as self-awareness and perspective taking when experiencing a conflict, on how they respond to hostilities and how they make choices that affect their lives. This in turn shows both the children's abilities to reflect deeply and thereby gain new insights, as well as that a stimulating cognitive climate was established.

Third, the children valued the theme of friendship as a relationship worth maintaining and caring for in spite of conflicts. They also brought up the value of forgiveness displaying understanding of its potency for defusing conflicts. In addition, the children also appreciated being allowed to share their feelings, which then led some of them to unburden themselves through sharing about problems in their relationships.

Fourth, children estimated the work of the investigator as useful suggesting that the questioning approach was relevant. That the children approved of being guided through questions to create their own meanings suggests a general attitude of educability with expectation and trust that the investigator would lead the discussion through questions in a direction beneficial for the children, implying that something of value had been imparted to them, possibly even empowered them during the sessions. The fact that the children spontaneously called the investigator 'teacher' and 'counsellor' and somebody who 'loves' suggests that they perceived having been treated as subjects rather than objects.

Thus, these aspects: dialogical climate, reflective atmosphere, the important and thereby engaging topic of friendship, and finally the authentic and trust-building approach by the investigator together capture main characteristics highlighted in the children's evaluations of the focus group sessions.

These characteristics are all relevant from a pedagogical perspective, including a peace education perspective. When space and encouragement is given for reflection, leading to new insights that in turn enable creating new meaning and thereby gives empowerment and motivation to change a powerful chain of events has been catalysed by the intervention. Moreover, where a trusting and candid climate can facilitate opening for emotional release and with time inner repair then key ambitions of peace education are fulfilled.

7.4.9. RELEVANCE FOR PEACE EDUCATION

The discussion below will probe the possibility that the insights emerged from the children's feedback on the focus group discussions are relevant for peace education pedagogy in terms of method, format and content. This is done by placing the focus group evaluations under a scholarly peace education lens starting with Ardizzone who argues that peace education has developed from traditional peace and war studies into the analysis of the many forms of violence combined with the pedagogy for the establishment of a societal and individual peace order (2003). That the individual is in focus in peace education has been affirmed by Page who explains the so called 'third level' of peace education. This level constitutes according to Page "what might be called the intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects of peace education, dealing with self-understanding, self-fulfilment, and how we interact with each other and our environment at a personal level" (2010:1). The peace system (Reardon 1982, Harris 2004) atomized to the individual level resonates well with the discussions and reflections the focus group children expressed. Having given importance to every child, acknowledging their need

to be themselves and the need they have to achieve own ambitions the focus groups evaluation data showed that children had experienced a glimpse of both. Participants communicated that they have learnt about how to' address conflicts, they felt good and appreciated, they could come up with own conclusions and hearing others was worthwhile. In this regard the focus groups seem to have become an (unintended) peace education teaching session dealing with peace issues at the personal and inter-personal level.

Also the content of the focus group discussions is interesting to compare with thinking of current peace education research. Morrison for instance argues that the objective of peace education is to encourage and reinforce peace and harmony through teaching that rejects violence and instead influences peace education students and society by transmitting ideals such as the value of life, kindness and non-violence (2011). Morrison's statement places education and non-violence squarely within peace education. Likewise, the focus group sessions were perceived by the children as educational sessions with learning experiences on how to solve conflicts within the friendship domain in a non-violent manner, i.e. through talking, reflecting on own emotions, managing negative feelings. Moreover, the children acknowledged that they were motivated to reflect about how they behave, that taking perspective was good to understand the other and that that dialogue is very important in order to find a solution to a relational problem.

Morrison's emphasis on the teaching of values was also reflected in the focus groups where particularly the relevance of forgiveness was brought up by the children. It can here be mentioned that forgiveness can indeed be viewed as a value in its own right. An illustration of the value of forgiveness has been provided by Gunnestad et al. based on their research on learning of values in international kindergarten contexts. The authors reported that forgiveness can exert a critical impact on children's social interactions and relationships through facilitating resolution of conflicts (2004). In the current study forgiveness constitutes a central aspect of reconciliation as well as a complex process that the children scrutinised well by arguing about who should forgive, whose fault it was, why forgive at all, how forgiveness given or taken can be perceived by the other party, when forgiveness cannot restore a relationship to pre-conflict status, etc. That forgiveness constitutes a profitable theme in peace education has been affirmed in the literature. With experience from both peace education research and practice Enright et al., argue for inclusion of forgiveness in interventions for peace (2007) and Gassin et al., state that forgiveness is imperative to the improvement of peaceful individuals and societies (2005). Thus, forgiveness being crucial for the act of reconciliation therefore becomes also a critical component of any peace education intervention and should be upheld as a value in its own right. There is here a need for more research about forgiveness among children and studies should be encouraged in order to gain more understanding how children's intuitive disposition to forgive or ask for forgiveness could be further strengthened.

Relevant for peace education is also training in core social competencies including anger management (Enright et al. 2007), acceptance of others and their stories as well as respect for human rights (Porath 2003), good judgement, problem solving, peer negotiation, conflict handling, respect for differences, good listening, productive communication (Harris 2004, 2011) and seeing from the other's perspective (Salomon 2004). Indeed, data from the evaluations of the focus groups showed that the dilemma narrative paved the way for the children to explore and elaborate on several of the topics mentioned above, including anger management and other negative emotions, peer negotiation, conflict management, attentive listening, respectful dialogue, empathy and forgiveness, which were brought up again and again by the children.

It also become apparent from the children's own reasoning that they were aware of some competences regarded important for resolving conflicts through dialogue and negotiation, though not always utilized in their own conflict episodes for various reasons. This apparent contradiction is described by Schultz and Selman as the "thought–action gap" (1989) in which the child appear to reason constructively but behave aggressively and it here suggested this thought–action gap should be addressed in peace education interventions to help children learn how to close this gap. Moreover, in Hakvoort and Oppenheimer's studies on children and adolescents they showed an association between comprehension of the concept of peace and development of perspective taking abilities (2009). The perspective taking needed for interpersonal understanding at the individual level, constituting a red thread in this study, and social level has been suggested a fundamental tool to help children to address conflicts through negotiation and thereby avoid letting the conflict become violent and help maintaining good relationships (Selman et al. 1997). Further, Oppenheimer argues that perspective taking constitute a useful tool for peace educators (2009). In fact it is here suggested that perspective taking is worth to be considered in any pedagogical intervention to be productive. Thus, perspective taking including the developmental aspect could carry great promise for the peace education field when operationalised in curricula on conflict handling and negotiation strategies at the interpersonal level.

As mentioned a concrete outcome of the focus group discussion was precisely the stimulation of the children's perspective taking, as revealed both in their examination of the dilemma problem and in discussing peers' conflicts, was highly valued by the children and acknowledged as a 'good exercise' in the evaluations. The children expressed a positive feeling because now they can understand the other better, even he or she is angry. This goes hand-in-hand with Salomon's emblematic statement about peace education: "Thus, the ultimate goal of peace education is to lead to the legitimization of the other side's point of view. This does not need to entail agreement with the other side, just seeing it as legitimate and thus valid. Changes of attitude, weakening of prejudices and more positive ways of relating to the other side would then easily follow" (Salomon 2004:1). Thus, it here suggested that the participating children were interested in learning to take perspective, they noticed the value in it for maintaining relationships, they made new insights by applying perspective taking

during the sessions and finally they found the focus group format helpful for these learning experiences, which is a very positive observation from a peace education perspective.

The evaluations of focus groups data displayed similar views in terms of awareness "we need more of this" discussions about this same theme and others. Therefore, the aspect of training to develop negotiation competencies which involve the management of negative emotions as it is the case of anger, social perspective taking for understanding the other, empathy to be able to feel as the other and assertiveness to know when to say no, would defend its place in future interventions oriented to equip children for peaceful conflict handling.

Another pedagogical aspect peace educators have championed is the active role of the student – the child in this case. The 'learning by doing' principle pioneered by Dewey and cherished by many a pedagogue is indeed regarded crucial in peace education: "Peace education is knowledge with practical/utilitarian outcomes and, in fact, one could argue that without the practice dimension there is no true peace education" (Synott 2005:10). To this sentiment Harris and Morrison agree: "Peace education is considered to be both a philosophy and a process involving skills, including listening, reflection, problem solving, cooperation and conflict resolution" (2012:11). The cooperative learning processes the children described in the focus groups indeed contain the skills listed by Harris and Morrison. Here the perceived everyday relevance and utility of the insights concerning conflict management recognized by the participating children adds further weight to the pedagogical efficacy of the active agency assumed by the children enriching each other while exchanging own understandings. At a deeper level, Harris and Morrison have observed that "[i]f a student is to be empowered to bring peace to this world, he or she cannot be a passive recipient of information, but must be active creator of knowledge" (2012:168). The focus group children witnessed in the evaluations that they indeed produced new knowledge by reflecting and thereby gaining new insights which they then expressed to the others in the group. Indeed the children valued the questioning methodology that helped them to create meaning themselves, which confirms the active role the children played during the focus groups sessions.

The next aspect of the focus group evaluations in relation to peace education is the importance of the peace education practitioner. Harris & Morrison observe that "[s]ome methods of teaching are clearly more empowering than others, and peace education relies on methods that provide by their example ways in which human beings can peacefully coexist on this planet. Peace education points to new ways of education" (2012:168). One could suggest that it is required by peace education to be more than just a form of educating but as a way of being, as a lifestyle in which the educator is required to display an empowering attitude that penetrates the students' peace teaching experience. The key role of peace education practitioners and teachers is emphasised by Harris: "Students exposed to peaceful adult role models learn from them nonviolent responses to conflict" (1995:20). In this this sense the pedagogy, the teaching model, is the living and empowering message channelled by the peace

educator. Is it then possible for the investigator to take this role of a role model with affinity to peace education ideals?

To begin with the investigator's conscious perspective on the focus group discussions was that of a dialogical encounter (as discussed by Buber above) with equals. This was done without ignoring the difference between being an adult interacting with children of different ages. Moreover, dialogue constitutes a centrepiece in peace education theory and practice where listening is a key prerequisite. Listening is here understood as a permeating experience that must be done with the whole being in a deep interaction with the subject. This interaction is manifested through speech and may impact the investigator through his or her story and by doing so transform both the researcher and the child him/herself (Friedman 2002).

Also in this regard the focus group moderation appears to align well with peace education ambitions as suggested explicitly in the appreciation children expressed to the investigator's respectful attention to their input. The children's willing and open exchange about difficulties in life, their conflictive feelings, complex motives and behaviours add further weight to this notion.

Finally, the evaluations together with the focus group corpus as a whole corroborate the relevance to peace education also through the children's spontaneous elaborations on resolution of conflicts. The children's emphasis on forgiveness and reconciliation to 'recover' a friendship relation has affinity to peace education theories concerning reconciliation between enemies. Abu-Nimer for instance suggests that peace education should include learning about the importance of reconciliation with the adversary also it should include learning perspective taking on the other in conflict (1996). Indeed, both these aspects were regarded important as expressed in the children's input. The children's discussions revealed reasoning about others' emotions and actions, both in relation to the dilemma characters as well as real persons in their immediate school context.

Below a list of key pedagogical insights drawn from the children's evaluations of the focus group sessions that could be applicable for peace education interventions:

1. Participants can contribute to validation of research methodology during a field study, and even enhance the work by evaluating and commenting on the research activity.
2. Evaluations can provide insights on what happened 'behind the scene' in terms of how children perceived the questions and how they themselves understood the emotional and cognitive processes that lead to the output of the focus group discussions registered.
3. To give the children a voice to enable them to share their views and create own meaning
4. Participants at the end were capable of sharing what they think and feel about conflict issues in the friendship domain.
5. Every participant learnt something from the session.

6. Participants can better utilize their capacity to acquire learning through reflecting on the discussion.
7. A discussion climate that allows freedom of speech and respect for each other helps participants to enhance their contributions.
8. Reflection is easier for some children than for others. Some participants needed guidance when reflecting and smooth assistance helped these children to independently draw insights and then verbalize their views and discoveries.
9. Verbally repeating and writing every child's input making sure it was correctly understood had likely elicited a powerful positive effect by projecting a sense of value of each child's answer and thereby of the child himself/herself.
10. The participants reflected on their own and others' ways of reasoning as well as on feelings they and others experiences in conflict situations showing a capacity to take perspective and think critically.
11. An educational session where deep experiences, convictions and emotions are reflected upon and shared in a group may result in unexpected unburdening and releasing experiences for the participants. Here the educator or researcher has to be prepared to respond accordingly.
12. The choice of the theme Conflict in Friendship engaged the participants, who found the topic relevant and therefore inspired their active reflection and discussions.
13. The questioning approach used to inquire about children's opinions and feeling, the taking notes from the children's input including their evaluations of the investigator constituted a 'reversed' pedagogical approach contrasting the traditional way where children take notes from what the teacher says and the teacher evaluates them, put children at the centre of the process. It is concluded that both the researcher although viewed as a 'teacher' and the children participating are at the learning end of the process the distinct roles where not blurred during the exchange.
14. Participants valued sharing their feelings although it is a difficult endeavour
15. Participants are empowered when given the opportunity to exercise judgement while evaluating the research activity.

To summarize the pedagogical insights from the focus group evaluations based on the children's testimonies it is suggested that the perceived impact as indicated by the children's feedback includes both new insights through reasoning involving perspective taking as well as positive emotional experiences. In addition novel commitments were expressed in terms of handling conflicts peacefully. This impact appears to have rested on the following pedagogical pillars: 1) Giving children a voice 2) Providing an interesting and relevant story with an engaging theme, 3) building trust, 4) consistent questioning methodology, 5) listening deeply, and 6) having a dialogue in which each child is treated as an equal. Taken together these results suggest impacts that peace education interventions in different formats strive to accomplish. In sum, the pedagogical insights presented in this chapter appear relevant for peace education interventions in terms of format, content and results and show compatibility with the views of leading peace education scholars cited here. To put it succinctly, research and educational initiatives that give children a voice, embrace active listening, respect,

promote reflection and perspective taking on interpersonal issues may contribute to a more empathetic and less violent culture in schools.

Some practical comments to the Colombian educational system: Educators are advised to listen to children's needs, honouring their desire to be listened to, to be taken into account in the educational discourse to start with as well as in the family setting and the community. Being objective, a main role is assigned to the educational system where the children spend most of their time, but unfortunately in this context most of the children are not given the time, neither the space and respectful attention, nor a platform for participation enabling them to verbalize and externalize their thoughts, their pain, their frustration as well as their ideas, creativity and dynamic ways to make their school environments productive and peaceful, which they want. It is here suggested that creating forums for children could contribute to lessening violence in disadvantaged communities and indirectly promote more peaceful conflict handling with friends.

From another angle, peace education is about healthy relationships so that violence is prevented and the Colombian children have in his study confirmed a fervent desire to maintain healthy friendship relationships. The social configuration of friendship constitutes a very promising relationship platform to help and train children learn to relate to the meaningful other in the conducive and safe friendship relationship environment. Once these competencies for negotiating conflict such as taking perspective, being self-assertive, being empathetic and managing negative emotions as well as forgiving are acquired, internalized and applied within the friendship domain the child could also be more easily taught to practice them in an extended social group or in other types of relationships.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS

8. CONCLUSIONS

8.1. SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

The overarching purpose of this study concerned the understanding of 'How children think and feel about conflict within the friendship domain using a peace education framework'. This was also the overarching research question. The theoretical fundament comprised perspective taking, negotiation and peace education studies. The empirical work involved a questionnaire survey and focus group discussions with participating schoolchildren in Colombia.

The quantitative part of the empirical study entailed a questionnaire where the general experience, attitudes and behaviour were probed in regards to violence, conflict, and peaceful interactions. The results provided a glimpse of the children's 'Sitz im Leben', their situation and their perception of peaceful and violent situations in their everyday life. In sum, the results displayed a strong tendency to peace preferences, peaceful reasoning and experiences, which contrasted the hypothesis that suggested a violent tendency given the violent socio-political conflict and the structural problematic that surround the children.

The focus group study gave children the opportunity to reflect together and express deep feelings concerning their relationships and conflicts. Triggered by the dilemma narrative the children engaged in reasoning about the causes for the relational problem in the dilemma, why the two friends distanced themselves from one another, who is right or wrong, who should ask for forgiveness. They also elaborated on deeper emotional aspects concerning difficult and mixed feelings the two dilemma friends might experience, including anger with sadness, and anger with happiness. Almost unanimously, the children held that it was crucial for the two dilemma characters to talk in order to solve the problem - "after all they are friends". It became obvious that the children possessed cognitive capabilities necessary for perspective taking, emotional disposition through empathy, anger management and conflict solving. These abilities were quantitatively assessed by scoring children's citations using Selman's and co-workers' two indices, Interpersonal Perspective taking (IPT) and Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies (INS). The results revealed as expected higher scores for older children than for younger children. A good number of children also shared about their own experiences of friendship, which were associated with positive feelings including joy, appreciation of intimacy, and satisfaction over trust established between the friends. However, reflections about complex motives and expectations in the relationship as well as difficult realisations about conflicts with a friend also involving physical aggression surfaced during the focus group discussions. To the negative emotions associated with these topics count anger, sadness, hate and envy.

The children's evaluations of the focus group sessions provided an additional data set about their perceptions of the focus group per se. According to the children, the focus group format used in the current study appears to have enabled them not only to verbalize their

experiences, views and feelings but also to gain new insights about various conflict handling and negotiation strategies. This was achieved both through their own perspective taking as well as through learning from their peers in the focus group. Discrepancies or gaps were here noticed between the children's judgement capacity and actions, and interestingly this discrepancy was also perceived and admitted by some of the children themselves. These insights included new awareness about their own behaviour and both positive and negative underlying attitudes pertinent to conflicts and to the friendship relationship as such. Moreover, several children admitted the discussions had resulted in emotional release through opportunities to 'unburden' themselves. A particularly strong prominence of the topic of friendship was seen throughout the focus group discussions contrasting the assumption that children would place emphasis on the conflict rather than on the friendship relationship. In their feedback to the investigator, the children saw the focus group sessions as interventions that had enriched, helped and empowered them. Although not directly responding to the main research questions, the children's evaluations of the focus group sessions have nevertheless been included in this work, merited by the affinity to the peace education perspective given to the thesis as a whole.

8.2. COMBINING THE QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Combining the qualitative and quantitative results it became evident that both depicted most of the participating children as agreeing to peaceful judgements, to prosocial behaviour, and as experiencing overall peaceful environments. From a methodological perspective the questionnaire approach allowed inclusion of a sufficiently high number of children to both conduct a factor analysis as well as to perform statistical analysis of demographic parameters. The outcome of the questionnaire study provided a 'snapshot' of the children's situation in regards to conflict and violence in general. The information from focus group testimonies on the other hand supplied qualitative in-depth data on a wide range of themes and insights about friendship, conflict, the role of emotions, the importance of dialogue and the value of forgiveness. These results provided insights about children's willingness to solve conflicts occurring between friends, making available details and nuances that revealed how children think and feel about conflict within friendship relationship, which in turn contributed to a better understanding of the inner world of children including both cognitive and emotional components.

Evaluating the quantitative and qualitative data sets together several observations can be done concerning correspondences and discrepancies between them. Beginning with observations suggesting the two methodologies corroborate each other it was noticed that according to questionnaire results, the Factor 1 'Violence Experience' and Factor 2 'Peace Attitude and Behaviour', the peacefulness scoring was on average very high. The questionnaire input on individual questions also revealed the predominant peacefulness of the participating children in terms of the practice of forgiveness to solve a conflict. Another

insight from these results is that the children valued group activities at school that require collaboration, which is a key competence for positive relationships. Here the questionnaire answers thus showed a rather strong affirmation of peaceful behaviour. This overall 'peacefulness' recorded in the questionnaire responses could be related to the observations in the focus groups where the children displayed sufficiently advanced perspective taking abilities to relate to another person's emotional state, showed a strong personal dedication to friendship relations and valued forgiveness as an instrument to restore a friendship relation. These features fit with and could to some extent explain the largely peaceful and pro-social convictions displayed in the questionnaires.

It was anticipated in this study that negotiation as conflict management strategy between peers would become more prevalent as children grow and the use of brute force declines. Yet data from this study contrasted this assumption as both Factor 2 results and individually analysed statements in the questionnaires as well as the focus groups testimonies displayed older children as verbally and physically more aggressive than younger children. In the focus groups the older children more than younger justified the use of force for solving conflicts with non-friends.

This finding of the older children being more inclined to violent strategies than the younger children contrasted the developmental results shown in the focus groups where both the interpersonal perspective taking capacity (IPT) as well as the interpersonal negotiation strategies (INS) were more advanced among the older children. Thus, despite the fact that the older children were more advanced in terms of IPT and INS, this capacity was not directly translated to more peaceful approaches to conflicts and this outcome suggests a gap between reasoning and behaviour. This gap would not have been detected using the questionnaire study alone.

Concerning socio-economic parameters a higher proportion of the focus group children coming from poor neighbourhoods admitted violent behaviour than the children from rich areas, who in most cases preferred dialogue to address conflicts. This latter notion was also supported by the quantitative results from two individually analysed questions Q15 about 'talking out a problem' and Q19 'forgiving a friend after offense'.

The results from the two factors as well as from in the majority of the individually analysed questions showed girls being more peaceful than boys. In the focus groups this tendency was only observed mainly among the rich children, but not among the poor children.

Looking at the overall IPT and INS levels, as assessed by the scoring of the citations from the focus groups, showed the developmental levels to take perspective and assess the dilemma suggesting that in general these children were on average at least in a low to medium level. The INS and IPT levels consequently appeared somewhat higher than anticipated in light of the difficult Colombian socio-political and economic context in which these children live.

Despite the overall peacefulness displayed by the vast majority of the children there were in the focus groups however, some children who admitted own violent tendencies including coercion. An important aspect the questionnaire study could not detect was the statements in the focus groups revealing that although all children subscribed to peaceful behaviour, still all of them justified the use of violence when provoked. Sometimes physical violence was regarded the only way to stop a boastful or annoying friend from disturbing. Thus, during the focus group sessions the children's reflections possibly displayed a dissonance between reason and behaviour, and the children's professed values sometimes showed inconsistencies. The children's own violent patterns of behaviour might not have been completely apparent to all of the children when filling in the questionnaire. Only a very small group of children strongly agreed to violent statements or strongly disagreed to peaceful statements in the questionnaire. An obvious follow-up inquiry is to further characterize these groups of children with violent inclination in search of common and possibly explanatory denominators. With the demographic results at hand it is conceivable that children from older children from poor neighbourhoods were over-represented in this category. Here, the focus group discussions could lend some support in this direction. In addition, individual children with violent inclinations from all demographic backgrounds could have contributed to this group for personal reasons not palpable using the current study design.

In conclusion, combining the qualitative and quantitative data sets the children showed awareness of peaceful reasoning and both prosocial in thoughts and feelings. Still, many of them were unable to behave peaceably when in a conflict with a friend. Even the children with the highest perspective taking capacities actually legitimized violence to respond to the conflict when being provoked. The gap that the children in this way displayed, was most likely not due to lack of knowledge but rather of awareness and of practical non-violent conflict solving competences. Moreover although not confirmed by the questionnaire, it is here suggested that this discrepancy between knowledge and behaviour is related to the overall acceptance in Colombia of violent conflict solving strategies at both the inter-personal as well as structural levels.

8.3. FRIENDSHIP AND CONFLICT SOLVING AMONG CHILDREN

The focus group sessions the friendship relationship inspired and engaged children to creatively suggest ways to solve the problem in the dilemma narrative instead of getting locked in the complexity of the conflict. Moreover, the discussion evolved around the friendship topic requiring children's self-reflection on their own attitudes and behaviour in relationships and the way they handled their emotions with respect to friendship maintenance in relational 'dire straits'.

Children's willingness to openly discuss own views and interact with peers' opinions became an important factor for deep examining reasoning about themselves and others and appeared

in some cases to have extended their perspective taking reach and precision. This propensity holds promise for follow-up interventions sharing the ethos and theoretical groundwork with the current study. The ability of the children to make new realizations would not have been possible to detect had they not dared to share about their thoughts and emotions with the other participants and the investigator which in turn implied considerable trust and respect established during the sessions. This level of transparency required for children to overcome their inhibitions in this regard. Very important to explore further is the fact that for many children it was sometimes hard to define their feelings for themselves and also to articulate emotions so that the others could clearly understand how they felt. Indeed, to be able to verbalise emotions in the particular context of a conflict with a friend can become a complex experience as was observed in the current study. It is here therefore suggested that the focus group format constituted a platform that provided a favourable environment that discussed both cognitive as well as emotional aspects where children could constructively exchange, reflect and learn with other children with the guidance of an adult about conflicts handling strategies and various ideas on how to maintain and shape their friendship relationship.

Another main and striking finding was the ardent desire for a healthy friendship relationships the children expressed. This was also evident in the willingness of the children to wrestle with difficult and sometimes mixed emotions towards their friend during conflict episodes. Many of the children struggled with disruptive behaviours against their friend, such as coarse joking and teasing which, when persisting, could result in a violent reaction from the offended friend. This appears very often to be related to limited perspective taking and empathy on part of the offender, which a handful of participants actually admitted when considering their own conflictive behaviour. The children's aspirations for maintaining their friendships were however also seen in their willingness to at least primitively negotiate their discrepancies in order to reconcile and find an agreement that ideally sets the stage in better and mutually more beneficial terms than before the conflict.

The overall impression that emerges is that the children saw the intimate friendship as a highly desirable relationship and that they in many cases were determined to maintain the friendship despite conflicts, which in turn demonstrates a healthy ambition and awareness of the perceived value of the friendship relationship. This desire to maintain the friendship being well intended is not without running the risk of being manipulated or abused by the friend. This can be the case if the conflict persists and the root of the problem is not dealt with, provided a solution was not negotiated reaching a mutual agreement. Appropriate competencies such as self-awareness and assertiveness to balance intimacy and autonomy deemed crucial for assurance of mutually satisfactory agreements. This can reduced unhealthy and unbalanced relationships which can also affect academic performance at school and social behaviour among others, of which educators and parents must be aware.

Moreover, the children demonstrated a willingness to learn to resolve conflicts and to apply insights for the building of friendships in real life. This process involves equilibration of

intimacy and autonomy within the relationship, which in turn may help children to become more sophisticated in their social interactions. Children took the opportunity during the focus group sessions to learn by engaging in perspective taking and reflecting both on the conflict in the dilemma narrative and on their own conflicts as shown in the data. Children in this way can become more skilled at regulating power with one another in a civilised and caring manner through authentic dialogues and moreover they will also be able to genuinely forgive offences when a misconduct appear to threaten the relationship. It is in these processes of social interactions they live with other friends and peers that they get their needs met and their goals achieved without abusing or being abused by the other. With the foundation built on openness to learn, awareness of the value of friendship, and willingness to engage in a relationship, the growing child can develop the ability to take a third person perspective on the relationship and to respond sensitively to relational challenges based on this understanding. This process entails collaboration, which develops over time. In this study, some collaboration to solve a conflict was observed already among the younger children, but collaboration definitely appeared more clearly among the older children's friendships.

A particular aspect discussed in this study is the development of interpersonal perspective taking that may be formed and developed in friendship settings and applied as negotiation skills to solve conflict. In the focus group discussions children discovered the potential residing in friendship relations and began to consider non-coercive strategies to address conflicts with their friends. It is in the more intimate friendship domain where the child begins to work actively on relationship management often prompted by conflict challenges, which often involves negotiation elements. It was reported in this study that adolescents compromised and negotiated more with close friends than with non-friends. Interestingly and paradoxically, there are examples in which friends in this study actually developed their relationship despite competition. Conflict situations between the two friends were reported including verbal and physical aggression, yet these challenges served to develop their friendship because they were integrated within a generally collaborative friendship and combined with caring emotions and flexible styles. As competition constitutes an important reason for conflicts and for engagement in negotiations it is not surprising that one found negotiation often occurring between contesting friends in the current material. Consequently, primitive negotiation became the most common way to settling conflict between friends and also coercion did occur to an extent between friends according to the data in this study. It was however obvious that coercion dominated conflicts with non-friends and negotiation in these relationships were exceptional. Thus, dialogical negotiations appeared to be more attractive to the children as they reasoned in the focus groups, yet in practice the children exhibited a gap between values and actions by admitting more aggression than they actually desired themselves.

Children's conflicts with their friends and handling the practical aspect of 'how to negotiate' becomes necessary to develop appropriate social competencies. Children who do not have the fitting competencies tend for example to avoid or mask what they really feel about the problem. Some children just formulaically pronounce forgiveness without engaging in a

proper dialogue about the trouble, appearing as if the problem was solved although it was only dealt with on the surface. This is obviously not real negotiation. As a result the level of trust is reduced and both friends lost relational capital. Insights and skills in the negotiation area can help these friends to approach the conflict with greater success. Some focus group's children displayed only limited awareness of how to negotiate in terms of using empathy or interpersonal perspective taking and assertiveness, and even less regarding the combined practical usage of these competencies in conflict situations. The children managed to describe their own emotions but seemed to struggle understanding the emotions of the counterpart. To learn how to take advantage of the competencies belonging both to the assertive and empathy category is a key task for negotiation teachers and trainers. Thus, assertiveness and empathy become a convenient framework for evaluation and handling responses of specific negotiation situations and individual's negotiation performance.

The children in the current study gave witness to considerable rigidity when dealing with conflicts. Pride, anger and jealousy precluded approaching the friend for dialogue and negotiation. It is here suggested that asking for or granting forgiveness in itself could be seen as expressions of flexibility resembling the ability to move from a strict positional stance to a collaborative setting. Although the children showed that they understood forgiveness as the tool par excellence for conflict resolution and friendship restoration, many children still admitted problems with recurring conflicts and provoking behaviour. Here it was interesting to note examples of children explaining new discoveries about their own obstructive behaviour gained during the focus group discussions.

The power of friendship is also seen in the commonly used forgiveness process, which from a peace education perspective could contribute to guiding content development for future interventions. Regarding children's views of forgiveness, they echoed some of the above-mentioned features like it has to be 'wholehearted', it has to be 'genuine and real'. The data also made possible to identify two types of dialogue and negotiation processes: one where no forgiveness is needed instead negotiation can start directly, and the second type shows that forgiveness is required before the negotiation between the two friends can commence. Forgiveness indeed constitutes a powerful tool that when properly handled can bring profitable peaceful experiences. After all, conflicts are ubiquitous in all relationships including those between friends. Therefore, understanding the value and function of forgiveness is central for children to be acquainted with so that both offended and offender employs it with the respect it deserves. Forgiveness training aims to motivate people to give space to empathy toward their offenders and thus transform a victimization experience to an experience of freedom over inadequacy and bitterness through anger management and compassion (Enright 1991). It is therefore here suggested that forgiveness, being so valuable for conflict handling and so beneficial for personal reasons, should be advanced in peace education curricula combined with anger management, empathy and perspective taking.

8.4. PEACE EDUCATION RELEVANCE

In answering the research question 'how the children think and feel when having a conflict with a friend' the thematic analysis data exhibited the relevance of themes such as, dialogue, negative emotions including emotions management and the value of forgiveness to solve conflicts transpiring in a friendship relationship. The overarching theme called for the sustaining of the friendship relationship above the conflict as it was a responsibility of both friends. It was also discussed how perspective taking contributed to assess the individual needs and the other friend's needs as well as the function of negotiation strategies to attain mutually satisfactory outcomes so that violence and aggression is reduced. A gap between peaceful reasoning and aggressive behaviour in real life was clearly identified by the children themselves acknowledging the problem and feeling that they 'don't know better than that'. They also admitted the need for a better approach to conflict solving both with friends and non-friends. How are these results associated to peace education?

First, the problem of violence is an important peace education concern as peace education has evolved into examining violence and educating to promote a peace on both the structural and individual levels. It is at the micro-level of individual and interpersonal conflicts that the current investigation aimed to grapple with so that school children become agents of social coexistence through developing non-violent interpersonal conflict handling attitudes and behaviours. The children in the study admitted having mixed emotions when in a conflict and that they find themselves confused and not knowing how to proceed in a particular dispute. They claim that opting for violence in many instances is usually due to apparent lack of other available alternatives. The children argued however, for dialogue in the dilemma narrative, but in real life the children often seem to be lacking the competencies to handle emotions, to take perspective and engage in dialogue for non-violent conflict handling. Violence is however not something that is easy to avoid when the context surrounding these children is impregnated with aggression, and unfortunately these behavioural patterns are easily imitated by the children. Nevertheless, peace education can through teaching and training in negotiation competencies such as perspective taking, dialogue, self-assertiveness and collaboration for the handling of conflicts contribute to violence reduction at interpersonal level.

Second, emotional development for conflict resolution within peace education is an important aspect that rarely dealt with by developmental psychologists. Social emotional development of the child is also an important feature for peace education. The question to address is how the child develops empathy towards a friend both in times of difficult fights as well as in competitive times. This empathy can enable he or she to enjoy the other's victories, which was the relational challenge depicted in the dilemma narrative used in this study. The empathetic emotions are also needed to compensate for the negative emotions that call for revenge and aggression.

Interestingly, peace education argues for anger management and so does the negotiation field. Both disciplines propose pedagogical training of anger management for the prevention of violence (Harris 2012, Fisher and Shapiro 2005). Likewise anger management is imperative in any negotiation process, which was actually also pointed out by the focus group children who found anger a negative and difficult emotion to control and an hindrance to dialogue. Children in the focus groups manifested a need for spaces to discuss their problems and feelings of anger and abuse. They seemed to realise the logic of non-violence but the emotions are also as real and strong in the process of handling the quarrels. They expressed despair when losing a match or felt very miserable while envying somebody's skills. Emotions playing a central role in a relationship required children to develop a sense of responsibility and empowerment that can help them to manoeuvre feelings in a healthy direction to reach equilibrium and find a way out of the problem. Children themselves suggested in the focus groups discussions intelligent ways to handle negative emotions such as to calm down, be happy about your friend's success, value what you are good at, be empathetic etc. Consequently, proficiency through appropriate training in core competencies as perspective taking, empathy, self-assertiveness as well as dialogue and managements of emotions could empower the children to handle conflicts with their friends creatively, finding other peaceful alternatives and thereby fostering development of peaceful behaviour long term. The insights gained in the present study on children's feelings when in conflict with a friend thus offer peace education research a powerful complementing perspective for future studies on development and fluctuations of children's social behaviour due to emotional influences. These observations could also prove useful for peace education interventions with the ambition to support children in a peaceful direction.

Third, as peace education strives for solving and preventing conflicts it is here argued that forgiveness should constitute a key element in peace education motivated by the participating children's own emphasis on forgiveness as the preferred approach for solving conflicts and restoration of friendship. It is here suggested that development of forgiveness is a pre-requisite for cultivating a healthy emotional life in a world where interpersonal conflicts are ubiquitous particularly in children's contexts. Interestingly, some of the focus group children problematized about the forgiveness process mentioning complicating or hindering circumstances. Yet it is fair to say that they found no other path forward than forgiveness. It appears reasonable that forgiving another person is not possible when grudges are still held. The focus group children indeed showed general awareness of the forgiveness process yet during the discussions limitations in their understanding appeared. Thus, peace education from the perspective of interpersonal conflict can clearly educate in forgiveness as both a virtue as well as an advantageous cognitive-emotional competency. All the complexity of what forgiveness entails such as the value, the function, the time etc., is suggested to be included in the discussions with children.

Fourth, if anything stood out in the children's input was their desire for right relationships with friends. Based on the children's testimonies friendship as social phenomenon appears as

something highly desirable and yet often difficult to maintain. How can this gap be filled? It is here believed that peace education interventions including those resembling the format of the focus group sessions of this study could offer beneficial insights on something the children already very much value. The topic of friendship could serve as a platform for peace education interventions for facilitating development of interpersonal perspective taking competences, negotiations competences and upholding the principle of forgiveness as ultimate means of relational restoration. These competencies and insights may then be extended by the child as he adapts and uses them while interacting with wider social networks.

Fifth, the specific area of negotiations is highly relevant for addressing conflict between friends to peace education aiming to reduction of violence. Also in more fundamental terms negotiation was discussed by the children as a basic human practice and as a type of conflict resolution. Each child has longings and necessities and in order to satisfy them, most times negotiation is required. Killen and Nucci argue that how a conflict is disentangled indicates a child's level of moral development (in Hart & Killen 1995), which suggest that the use of negotiation would be a prosocial approach likely to be associated with high moral development. In this sense negotiation becomes an important competence for children that peace education proponents might want to explore further. As already discussed this study children wrestle with both positive and negative emotions. In the focus groups the children were confronted with the idea of 'working out' a conflict together with an angry friend to transform a difficult situation, and they often admitted not knowing 'how to' handle difficult conflicts. They went through the process of assessing their own and the other's point of view and feelings so that a common agreement would be reached. This process took place at a basic level in most cases, nevertheless this exercise is in essence negotiation which showed willingness to collaborate between the parties.

In this endeavour of assessing the area of negotiation for contributing to peace education it is here proposed to view negotiation as a prosocial process and from a combined cognitive and affect perspective:

1. Negotiation is a ubiquitous type of interaction in which people may negotiate for a variety of resources, ideas and interests (Thompson and Hastie 1990).

2. Negotiation is a socially rich and multifaceted form of interaction, involving power, relationship, influence, culture, ecology, team interactions (Gelfand et al. 2011), trust (Lewicki 1998, Ferrin et al. 2007),) and communication (Putnam & Roloff 1992).

3. Negotiation is a psychologically rich process involving cognition, motivation, emotion (Gelfand et al. 2011) and perspective coordination (Selman 1980), as well as self-awareness, self-assertiveness and empathy (Mnookin 1996).

4. Negotiation requires that the parties involved assume autonomous roles taking responsibility and ownership for the process and its outcome (Killen & Nucci 1995).

Involvement of mediators should ideally be a last alternative when all options to solve the conflict independently have been exhausted.

5. Competencies taking affect and cognition views together encompass learning the ability to take perspective cognitively coupled with the involvement of the 'heart', which is acknowledging the importance of both negative and positive emotions in conflict (Lemerise & Arsenio 2000).

6. The friendship relationship becomes an asset that facilitates the negotiation of a conflict while balancing intimacy and autonomy through a collaboration process, which also contributes to their individual and social development (Selman 1997).

7. Negotiation have the advantage to also be preventive in which children that have learnt negotiation competencies handle their interests and disagreements until reaching mutual satisfaction avoiding negative or violent conflict experiences.

In sum, it is here held that negotiation as a competency as well as strategies postulated in the negotiation discourse would add great value to peace education and particularly for training children. This does not imply that negotiation constitutes the panacea for peace education but that negotiation education brings an important complement alongside other concepts and strategies useful for peace education. Nevertheless, the negotiation field has unique contributions to peace education worthy of careful consideration and thorough exploration.

8.5. PEDAGOGICAL INSIGHTS

To further involve the children in the focus groups they were asked to evaluate the sessions and the researcher's performance as well, and to share about their own learnings, what they found beneficial, unique and what had impacted them constituted the pedagogical insights in this work.

The underlying enquiry the children's evaluation tried to address was how to conduct focus group discussions in such an effective and balanced manner that the participating children would openly share their thoughts and feelings relevant to the research question resulting in a rich data set. Moreover, how could this be achieved at the same time without violating the integrity of the participating children from a moral perspective? These questions pertained to one practical and one moral aspect. The moral element was supported by Buber's dialogical approach, where an educational experience is grounded in reciprocity embodied in the dialogue between the involved persons. The reciprocity one may suggest is emphasised by the educator consciously embracing equality in the dialogical experience giving recognition to the child. This recognition was obviously strengthened by allowing the children to evaluate the sessions. Although the focus group experience was limited to a one-hour dialogical interaction the applicability of Buber's propositions also for the focus group interaction was

here envisioned. In practise, equality with children was here assumed in a dialogue between individuals of different ages, adult and children. All the relevant information of the research was clearly communicated to all children, including their right to decline taking part on the activity. Another practical aspect involved the Socratic questioning method through which the children were guided to find their own truth and meaning during the session and by doing so the researcher restrained the level of impact in the discussion leaving the children to freely generate their own meanings.

Aspects that were particularly appreciated by the children according to the evaluation data. First, the children valued being listened to and enjoyed listening to others. They found the focus group session an activity through which they learn about themselves and others in discussing the subject of conflict in friendship. They experienced recognition by giving and receiving respectful attention, which fostered a discursive climate of equality. Second, they showed appreciation for a cognitive environment that stimulated children reflecting on their issues associated to self-awareness, empathy and perspective taking when in a conflict, on how they respond to hostilities and how they make choices that affect their lives. Third, the children valued the theme of friendship as a relationship worth sustaining and caring for despite conflicts. They also brought up the value of forgiveness and expressed how good was it to be able to share their feelings, although not easy. Fourth, that the children found the questioning methodology helpful for creating their own meanings suggests an attitude of educability with expectation and trust that the researcher would lead a beneficial discussion for them. Apparently, the children realised that something of value had been imparted to them, and even felt empowered during the sessions.

Focussing the children's perspective it became clear that they wanted to talk about things, they wanted to be heard, wanted to share about their interests, concerns and longings. For example, various children stated, "We would like this activity again with different subjects". More importantly is that the children expressed desire to have this kind of activities being implemented in the school system. According to the children's testimonies, it seems very unlikely that the schools contributing to this study had taken time to listening to the children's experiences on friendship relationships, conflicts and other topics important for them. Indeed, there appeared to be a general lack of discursivity among children and between children and educators. There is hence a call for interactions that promote a dialogical approach between equals that is embedded in respect. This would allow children give reasons and explain how they think and why they think and act in a certain way in regards to a particular issue or subject.

Since the children eagerly wanted more of this type of exchange opportunities, would it not make sense to take advantage of this readiness? Unfortunately it is evident that the majority of the schools involved in this study including their teachers are not using this great potential and a plausible reason is that the children are neither at the centre of the educational system nor of the teachers' daily agenda. A view of children as objects, as mere recipients of

information and instructions, is against their human right to be heard and fairly treated. Educators and peace educators who permeate their teaching with a child-centred perspective plan the teaching and interact with their pupils on equal basis of respect and attention, involving their whole being by being present from a holistic perspective.

From this perspective peace education would not necessarily have to be a grand program but actually beginning with the most fundamental questions: What place and agency do children have in their own educational process? Is there space for dialogical interactions embedded in respectful and genuine discussions viewing children in the sense of worth as equals? Is there willingness to hear what a child feels inside? How do children think about a particular subject matter and what creative ideas they might have? Is there willingness to guide children instead of giving orders in how to think and command them what to do? Peace education is about enacting a pedagogical practice that accepts that the child must be at the centre of the educational system which in practise requires re-thinking on own biases and negative habits when teaching children.

From a 'lessons learnt' perspective the question is what made the children respond so favourably to this focus group session? In this context, Reichenbach's insightful statement concerning training student teachers could shed light on this question: "Equality is a practice; it is presupposing that the other is a reasonable human being. This means that you (teacher) want to know what he or she (child) thinks, and it is about asking for reasons that is the practice of equality. It is not about I am the teacher I know how it is. I am teacher and I know, but out of responsibility I would like to know how do you think and for what reasons you say what you say, and want to know the reasons that you have for your particular opinion" (Personal communication, 2016). Perhaps because it was an equal interaction between the moderator and the children and between the children themselves, which in turn made them feel being taken seriously. In this sense, they were given a voice, an opportunity to verbalise their thoughts. It is suggested that it is this process of recognition, equality, respect and meaning making in the focus groups sessions that they valued and found enjoyable.

It was apparent that most of the focus group children were not used to the fact that their inner world was regarded important by an educator, instead they are used to the fact that their behaviour and achievements are what counts. Their reasoning is not given the same attention in the school context, neither their feelings deep inside them. It is commonplace in education that behaviour is the norm and behaviour is important. But as behaviour is important it is equally important for the child is to know why he or she does what he or she does (reasoning) and why they feel the way they feel (emotions). It became evident that the children in this study were indeed capable of such reasoning to discuss their motives and their feelings about particular issues.

It was rewarding for the researcher to note new insights gained by the children. And even more satisfying was to observe children noticing their own discoveries and feeling strengthened once this achievement was realised. Practicing perspective taking, empathy,

reflection and meaning making in the focus groups apparently contributed to taking steps forward in developing these skills. This notion brings to the foreground the 'learning by doing' principle established by Dewey and that peace educators have embraced. They affirm that peace education is knowledge with concrete and practical outcomes - without the practical element there is no real peace education Synott argues (2005). Giving prominence to conscious thought and reflection would foster a pedagogy of autonomy. Furthering reasoning and moral judgement could in turn advance refinement of behaviour based on the child's own insights, which of course is firmly aligned with peace education research and practice. Moreover, leveraging the findings of the current study for the purpose of developing the child to his or her fullest potential by respecting his or her humanity and developing all their capabilities also adheres to the central ideal of peace education.

Coming to the end of this work I cite Unesco's proclamation: "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed" clearly states a commitment to educate for peaceful coexistence and children are at the forefront. This education for peace includes not only reasoning but also learning to know what is in our hearts as emotions are an important part of our making, a coordination of both is required.

To do justice to the Colombian children participating in this study I must speak on their behave by stating that if Colombians have learned something about living at war for 50 years and the violent legacy our children have received from this tragic time now it is the time to demonstrate true penitence. The Colombian educational system owe her children the teaching of the true meaning of peace. Beginning by putting the children in the centre, they must be listened to, respected and cared for as valuable treasures. Then they must be lovingly taught competencies to develop peaceful interpersonal relationships that is peace education.

Having carried out this research with children has indeed transformed my life. To be entrusted with the Colombian children's stories, issues, feelings, challenges and intricate conflicts was humbling and an honour. Research as I see it is about having a dialogical interaction connecting with the human side of the subject to obtain data that is permeated with authenticity and therefore of high quality. Children are a fountain of information that ought to be highly valued and how we do research with children also touches peace education core goals. For all children peace!

CHAPTER NINE: FORWARD LOOKING

9. FORWARD LOOKING

The richness of the qualitative and quantitative data gathered in the current study invites further exploration. In addition, the results have incited new questions not anticipated in the planning of this investigation.

9.1. FURTHER QUERIES BASED ON EXISTING DATA

Using the current data set one could approach a number of queries: What are the demographic characteristics of children who answered particularly violently or peacefully to key questions? Did these children answer consistently violently or peacefully throughout the questionnaire? What common denominators are there between questions where most children chose the most extreme response alternatives, strongly disagreeing or strongly agreeing representing either most peaceful or most violent inclination? In addition to the demographic parameters discussed in this investigation the questionnaire also contained questions on family situation. Are there correlations between these domestic aspects and how children respond to certain questions on handling conflict? Enabled by the large questionnaire data set further explorations could shed more light on these demography-related issues.

Concerning the focus group material, one could consider comparing the IPT and INS scoring between different themes or even sub-themes. This approach could tell something about the perspective taking level displayed by the children when discussing different topics related to conflict solving between friends. Do the children show higher level when discussing difficult feelings experienced during conflict or when discussing forgiveness? Moreover, if the *same* children display varying capacities of IPT or INS depending on the theme discussed, are there patterns in these fluctuations? Are there tendencies to 'underperform' in certain areas?

9.2. QUERIES FOR FOLLOW-UP STUDIES

Going beyond the current body of data one could envision a number of routes for expanding using additional approaches:

1. One particular group of children that deserve special attention are those who display unexpectedly high levels of peacefulness either in the questionnaire material or the focus groups. From these children one can learn something about parameters that enable individuals to withstand prevalent anti-social behaviour in a social context, which has been described as 'resilience' in the literature. The questionnaire data set could give an idea about numbers of children that belong to this category and the focus group material could be used to identify those children who voiced unusually peaceful sentiments. These children could then contribute through in-depth interviews supplying further information that could provide insights to the background and conditions behind this kind of resilience.

2. From a peace education perspective the pedagogical insights strongly motivates further use of this focus group methodology in an interventional direction, with the ambition to positively engage and stimulate children to reflect on and share their ideas, behaviour and experiences in relation to conflicts. As mentioned earlier, the children themselves bore witness to the perceived positive effects, both at cognitive as well as emotional levels, of the discussions.

3. Moreover to study peace education in a broader perspective could include other social configurations in addition to the friendship domain. It is therefore conceivable to also explore peer group, teacher-child and parent-child domains pioneered by Selman, for studying conflict handling and resolution. These additional social domains would complement the friendship domain focused in the current study providing a more holistic description of the social world of the child and could contribute to increased understanding of the arrangement of different social constellations the child contributes to and interact with.

4. While this study was restricted to two cities in Colombia it would be very interesting to compare how children think and feel within the friendship domain between other cities in Colombia as well as other countries. Including cultural and socio-economic profiles that more distinctly differentiate from the settings used in this investigation would enhance the understanding of demographic parameters in relation to the qualitative and quantitative data described in the current work.

5. Friendship was highly valued as an asset contributing to a positive disposition in the handling and solving of a conflict. Therefore it would be useful to explore more in depth as to how and what are the particular characteristics of this type of friendship that ideally serves as platform for cultivating prosocial behaviour that in a larger extent can also contribute to peace in wider constellations. Using questionnaire and focus group using dilemma methodology it would be interesting to create an index describing children's perceptions of friendship with a link to conflict. Here one could let the children interact with questions dealing with for instance autonomy and dependence between friends.

6. Selman's concept of interpersonal understanding and the interpersonal perspective taking levels are very useful to guide both researchers as well as practitioners. It would be useful to gain further comprehension about this model in order to better understand children's competences from a developmental perspective. This could in turn help advance aspects of peace education pedagogy, including listening to children's thoughts and feelings as an act of recognition and respect.

7. The current investigation probed for INS using a dilemma narrative involving a relational conflict addressed through the question "what do you think is the problem here?" This question relates to the first step in Yeates' and Selman's (1990) model of consecutive steps in the negotiation process. To further dissect INS subsequent negotiation steps could be explored employing tailored dilemma scenarios that include relevant facets of negotiation situations pertinent to the children's daily lives. This

approach could permit comparisons in INS levels between negotiation steps of the same children, which in turn could shed light on tendencies to display higher INS level of sophistication for some negotiation steps than others.

8. Negotiation as a concept and competency among children has yet to enter the field of peace education research. Granted, within conflict resolution interventions the designation of child mediators has been reported, but the emphasis on each child's capacity to engage in negotiation processes in conflict is still poorly explored, if at all. Here, a research approach could be devised to specifically investigate children's capacity to understand their own responsibility to negotiate in order to solve conflicts. The results of such studies could guide future interventions striving to raise awareness among children about the value of negotiated solutions to conflicts and provide learning opportunities for advancing negotiation competencies for children's everyday situations.

In sum, it is here held that this study on children's thoughts and feelings when having conflicts with a friend has provided new understanding on children's inner world. Moreover, the results invite further studies to investigate additional aspects of children's views and experiences using a similar respectfully objective stance in the interactions with the participants so that they feel recognition while reasoning about and explaining their thoughts and actions when discussing conflicts. The hope cherished is that the insights described in this work may both encourage as well as guide forthcoming studies and interventions that can contribute to stimulating non-violent conflict strategies among children in diverse settings, which essentially is doing peace education. The goal is having non-violent interpersonal interactions during conflictive episodes, increasingly influencing the environment in educational institutions in a peaceful direction.

CHAPTER TEN: BIBLIOGRAPHY

10. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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CHAPTER ELEVEN: APPENDICES

11. APPENDICES

11.1. APPENDIX 1

Focus Group Participant Characteristics and Numbers

City	Strata	School & Abbreviation		Gender	Age group	Age	Child	Nr
Bogotá	Poor	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Male	Younger	7	N1	1
Bogotá	Poor	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Male	Younger	6	N2	2
Bogotá	Poor	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Male	Younger	8	N3	3
Bogotá	Poor	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Male	Younger	6	N4	4
Bogotá	Poor	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Male	Younger	8	N5	5
Bogotá	Poor	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Female	Younger	8	N1	6
Bogotá	Poor	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Female	Younger	6	N2	7
Bogotá	Poor	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Female	Younger	6	N3	8
Bogotá	Poor	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Female	Younger	8	N4	9
Bogotá	Poor	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Female	Younger	8	N5	10
Bogotá	Middle	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Male	Older	12	N1	11
Bogotá	Middle	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Male	Older	13	N2	12
Bogotá	Middle	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Male	Older	13	N3	13
Bogotá	Middle	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Male	Older	14	N4	14
Bogotá	Middle	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Male	Older	14	N5	15
Bogotá	Middle	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Female	Older	14	N1	16
Bogotá	Middle	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Female	Older	12	N2	17
Bogotá	Middle	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Female	Older	14	N3	18
Bogotá	Middle	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Female	Older	14	N4	19

Bogotá	Middle	Colombo-Sueco	CS	Female	Older	14	N5	20
Bogotá	Poor	Carlos Albán Holguín	CAH	Male	Older	14	N1	21
Bogotá	Poor	Carlos Albán Holguín	CAH	Male	Older	13	N2	22
Bogotá	Poor	Carlos Albán Holguín	CAH	Male	Older	13	N3	23
Bogotá	Poor	Carlos Albán Holguín	CAH	Male	Older	14	N4	24
Bogotá	Poor	Carlos Albán Holguín	CAH	Male	Older	12	N5	25
Bogotá	Poor	Carlos Albán Holguín	CAH	Female	Older	13	N1	26
Bogotá	Poor	Carlos Albán Holguín	CAH	Female	Older	13	N2	27
Bogotá	Poor	Carlos Albán Holguín	CAH	Female	Older	12	N3	28
Bogotá	Poor	Carlos Albán Holguín	CAH	Female	Older	14	N4	29
Bogotá	Poor	Carlos Albán Holguín	CAH	Female	Older	12	N5	30
Bogotá	Poor	Filadelfia	F	Male	Younger	7	N1	31
Bogotá	Poor	Filadelfia	F	Male	Younger	7	N2	32
Bogotá	Poor	Filadelfia	F	Male	Younger	8	N3	33
Bogotá	Poor	Filadelfia	F	Male	Younger	7	N4	34
Bogotá	Poor	Filadelfia	F	Male	Younger	7	N5	35
Bogotá	Poor	Filadelfia	F	Female	Younger	8	N1	36
Bogotá	Poor	Filadelfia	F	Female	Younger	8	N2	37
Bogotá	Poor	Filadelfia	F	Female	Younger	8	N3	38

Bogotá	Poor	Filadelfia	F	Female	Younger	7	N4	39
Bogotá	Poor	Filadelfia	F	Female	Younger	10	N5	40
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Male	Younger	7	N1	41
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Male	Younger	6	N2	42
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Male	Younger	8	N3	43
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Male	Younger	7	N4	44
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Male	Younger	8	N5	45
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Female	Younger	7	N1	46
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Female	Younger	8	N2	47
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Female	Younger	8	N3	48
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Female	Younger	7	N4	49
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Female	Younger	7	N5	50
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Male	Older	13	N1	51
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Male	Older	13	N2	52
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Male	Older	14	N3	53
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Male	Older	12	N4	54
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Male	Older	12	N5	55
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Female	Older	14	N1	56
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Female	Older	14	N2	57
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Female	Older	13	N3	58
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Female	Older	13	N4	59
Bogotá	Poor	Manuela Beltrán	MB	Female	Older	14	N5	60
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Male	Younger	7	N1	61
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Male	Younger	8	N2	62
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Male	Younger	8	N3	63

Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Male	Younger	8	N4	64
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Male	Younger	8	N5	65
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Female	Younger	7	N1	66
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Female	Younger	7	N2	67
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Female	Younger	8	N3	68
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Female	Younger	8	N4	69
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Female	Younger	7	N5	70
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Male	Older	13	N1	71
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Male	Older	12	N2	72
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Male	Older	13	N3	73
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Male	Older	13	N4	74
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Male	Older	13	N5	75
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Female	Older	12	N1	76
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Female	Older	12	N2	77
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Female	Older	13	N3	78
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Female	Older	13	N4	79
Bogotá	Rich	Vermont	V	Female	Older	12	N5	80
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Male	Younger	7	N1	81
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Male	Younger	7	N2	82
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Male	Younger	8	N3	83
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Male	Younger	8	N4	84
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Male	Younger	6	N5	85
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Female	Younger	7	N1	86
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Female	Younger	8	N2	87
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Female	Younger	8	N3	88

Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Female	Younger	7	N4	89
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Female	Younger	6	N5	90
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Male	Older	14	N1	91
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Male	Older	13	N2	92
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Male	Older	12	N3	93
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Male	Older	13	N4	94
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Male	Older	13	N5	95
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Female	Older	13	N1	96
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Female	Older	14	N2	97
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Female	Older	14	N3	98
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Female	Older	12	N4	99
Cùcuta	Poor	Andrés Bello	AB	Female	Older	14	N5	100
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Male	Younger	8	N1	101
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Male	Younger	10	N2	102
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Male	Younger	6	N3	103
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Male	Younger	9	N4	104
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Female	Younger	9	N1	105
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Female	Younger	10	N2	106
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Female	Younger	10	N3	107
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Female	Younger	10	N4	108
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Male	Older	13	N1	109
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Male	Older	12	N2	110
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Male	Older	13	N3	111
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Male	Older	13	N4	112
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Male	Older	14	N5	113

Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Female	Older	15	N1	114
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Female	Older	14	N2	115
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Female	Older	14	N3	116
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Female	Older	15	N4	117
Cùcuta	Rich	Eagles Hill	EH	Female	Older	15	N5	118

11.2. APPENDIX 2

Focus Group Participants and Demographics

City	**Bogota**							**Cucuta**			
Social Strata	Poor Children				Middle Class Children	Rich Children		Poor Children	Rich Children		
School	Carlos Alban Holguin	Colombo Sueco	Filadelfia	Manuela Beltràn	Colombo Sueco	Vermont	Total	Andres Bello	Eagles Hill	Total	Grand Total
Older Females	5			5	5	5	20	5	5	10	30
Older Males	5			5	5	5	20	5	5	10	30
Younger Females		5	5	5		5	20	5	4	9	29
Younger Males		5	5	5		5	20	5	4	9	29
Total	10	10	10	20	10	20	80	20	18	38	118

Appendix 2: The number of children from the demographic sub-groups included in focus group sessions as defined by gender, age, social strata and city affiliation.

11.3. APPENDIX 3

The duration and the demographic profile of each focus group session

City	**Cucuta**								
Social Strata	Poor Children				Middle Class Child	Rich Child	Poor Child	Rich Child	
School	Carlos Alban Holguin	Colombo Sueco	Filadelfia	Manuela Beltràn	Colombo Sueco	Vermont	Andres Bello	Eagles Hill	Grand Total
Older Females	0:48:05			0:55:51	0:53:22	0:56:55	1:00:39	0:54:45	5:29:37
Older Males	1:04:00			1:06:00	1:02:00	0:57:10	0:52:08	0:57:03	5:58:21
Younger Females		1:00:59	1:11:58	0:45:00		0:35:58	0:44:25	0:57:43	5:16:03
Younger Males		0:51:03	0:45:24	0:41:58		0:41:30	0:44:30	0:56:22	4:40:47
Total	1:52:05	1:52:02	1:57:22	3:28:49	1:55:22	3:11:33	3:21:42	3:45:53	21:24:48

Appendix 3: The duration (hours: minutes: seconds) and the demographic profile of each focus group session.

11.4. APPENDIX 4

Examples of IPT scoring of citations from the focus group themes identified

Level 0

Theme: Negative emotions in conflict

Subtheme: Violent anger

Code: Physical aggression

N4: They're going to grab themselves at each other's throat and Sebastian leaves and Alex stays in the school (CS.Poor.Male.6yrs).

Level 1

Theme: Dialogue in handling conflict

Subtheme: Clarify problem

Code: Talk about the problem

N3: They will talk to become friends...let's say talk again as friends (EH.Rich.Male.6yrs)

Theme: Forgiveness

Subtheme: Together again

Code: Forgiveness restores friendship

N1: We do nothing but one begins to give bad looks while leaving but then I go and I feel sad but leave anyway and then when we are back from the break we are giving hugs to each other (V.Rich.Female.7yrs)

Theme: Friendship

Subtheme: Assets in friendship

Code: Support friend

N5: I sometimes help friends in difficult things like a homework evaluation that he does not understand one asks his friend if you can help the other and if you understand then you helps a little bit and he understands and they can be friends and also if you are not friends your friends can be best friends (MB.Poor.Male.8yrs)

Theme: Negative emotions in conflict

Subtheme: Envy

Code: Effects of envy

N3: The jealousy Alexandra had was that she wanted Juliana out of the team so that she could get in and to be admired and never be kicked out (F.Poor.Female.8yrs).

Theme: Handling emotions in conflict

Subtheme: Managing defeat

Code: Accept defeat

N2: Alex has an attitude like ... he is strong he doesn't ... he always, always want to win because he doesn't like defeat (MB.Poor.Male.13yrs).

Level 2

Theme: Dialogue in handling conflict

Subtheme: Clarify problem

Code: Talk about the problem

N1: Well in that case it would be better for both of them to speak to resolve things and help Alexandra because they shouldn’t stop years of friendship of many for a game then it would be better to dialogue (AB.Poor.Female.13yrs).

Theme: Forgiveness

Subtheme: Make things right

Code: Commitment to amend

N1: But Alexandra says to Juliana and Juliana will have to answer Alexandra then Alexandra tells Juliana you have to say forgive me friend I will not do it again let us try to be together again and Juliana agrees I forgive you as a real friend and that is also what friendship is about (CS.Poor.Female.8yrs).

Theme: Friendship

Subtheme: Difficulties in friendship

Code: Mixed feelings

N1: I would be happy and a little resentful because I feel resentful because I could not get in I feel like anger towards me but I also feel sad because couldn`t get in and happy at the same time because my friend got in (CS.Middle.Male.12yrs).

Theme: Negative emotions in conflict

Subtheme: Inferiority

Code: Exclusion causes inferiority

N5: I think that Alexandra and Juliana shared everything always and Alexandra wanted and she tried likewise then when she did not make it to the team then she felt more insecure

N5: You do not feel capable of doing many things

N4: Do not trust yourself

(V.Rich.Female.N4:13yrs. N5:12yrs)

Theme: Handling emotions in conflict

Subtheme: Restrain frustration

Code: Don't get angry

N3: Think about the consequences perhaps the actions one does with rage in other words there is people who out of rage kills another person (MB.Poor.Male.14).

Level 3

Theme: Dialogue in handling conflict

Subtheme: Clarify problem

Code: Understand the other

N4: It is not just about talking but to understand understand the position of the other person because each friend have to put herself in the shoes of the other (EH.Rich.Female.15yrs).

Theme: Friendship

Subtheme: Difficulties in friendship

Code: Friends are not always together

N1:... as I always do not I will not always be together with my classmates or my friends in other words a friend is to have fun and have a good time and live happy moments but ... to become attached so that if he is there and I'm not then I get angry not then if he was chosen good cool I can also be like him (MB.Poor.Male.13yrs).

Theme: Handling emotions in conflict

Subtheme: Managing defeat

Code: Friend understands me

N2: No because if it would be me who had won for example I'm Juliana I wish my friend would understand me neither it is not about giving her my place to make her feel happy ... Because if it was my prize and not hers good because I achieved my goal and I feel bad because she did not make it but was also my dream and I am proud to be there (AB.Poor.Female.14yrs).

11.5. APPENDIX 5

Examples of INS scoring of children's citations from levels 0 to 3

Level 0 Response

What's the problem?

N1: That Juliana was chosen (AB.Poor.Female.7yrs).

N5: Because he didn't want to play (AB.Poor.Male.6yrs).

Level 1 Response

What's the problem?

N4: Because he felt offended (F.Poor.Male.7yrs).

N3: Alexandra is jealous because Julia got in the team and she didn't (CAH.Poor.Female.12yrs).

N3: That Alex wanted to get in the team as Sebastian but couldn't and then got angry (V.Rich.Male.8yrs).

Level 2 Response

What's the problem?

N3: Eh Juliana won the competition and Alexandra failed and she feels jealous she would like to be in Juliana's place Juliana wants to play with her but she does not want for what had happened she is very angry (AB.Poor.Female.14yrs).

N5: That Sebastian is proud that he was chosen but Alex not then Sebastian realised that he didn't want to be alone without Alex (F.Poor.Male.7yrs).

N2: Or maybe it is Alexandra's selfishness not wanting her friend's success as she could not get that opportunity and that's why she got angry or she is selfish with her friend. (EH.Rich.Female.14yrs).

Level 3 Response

What’s the problem?

N1: That both wanted to enter the football team but one was better than the other that is why he was chosen at that time Alex was normal as if he did not care but as time passed by when the friend was in the football team and could not see each other then Alex felt he was no longer his friend then he got angry (CS.Middle.Male.12yrs).

N3: ... my view is that ... Looks like a little bit envious because one got in the team and the other didn't that's why the rivalry between... between the two friends they no longer want to see each other (MB.Poor.Male.14yrs).

N5: I think there are various problems one is Alex's attitude towards the problem for him is not so good that he wasn't accepted in the team and also that what I've heard that Sebastian doesn't have much time for them (V. Rich.Male.13yrs).

11.6. APPENDIX 6A

Questionnaire (English version) - additional column indicates recoded questions

Q	Question/statement	Likert Scale				Recoded: YES! = score 1
		4	3	2	1	
1	Other children insult me or threaten me	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	**Recoded**
2	Other adults insult me or threaten me	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	**Recoded**
3	When a friend in my group fights with somebody I try to stop him	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	
4	Other children beat me	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	**Recoded**
5	Other adults beat me	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	**Recoded**
6	It is good to be tough so that the others don't bully me	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	**Recoded**
7	There are a lot of fights in my neighbourhood and I watch them	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	**Recoded**
8	My friends have weapons in case something happens	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	**Recoded**
9	Nobody interferes when people fight in my neighbourhood	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	
10	Often I have to threaten other children	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	**Recoded**
11	If a schoolmate is harassing me or beating me I tell somebody (my teacher, parent or friend)	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	
12	Other schoolmates bully me often	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	**Recoded**
13	If your classmate is being threatened or hurt by another. Would you try to help?	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	
14	Children deserve to be physically punished when disobeying their parents	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	**Recoded**
15	After I have fought with my friend we forgive each other and continue to be friends	YES!□	yes □	no □	NO!□	

16	When I lose a match or a game, I get angry and violent	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	**Recoded**
17	If I am jealous or envious of someone I want to "kill" that person- at least in my thoughts	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	**Recoded**
18	When I have a problem with another child I swear and say stupid words	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	**Recoded**
19	I try to talk out a problem instead of fists fighting	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	
20	I feel like a coward if I back down from a fight	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	**Recoded**
21	If a child teases me I usually cannot stop him or her unless I hit him	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	**Recoded**
22	It is good to be part of a group even if they steal things or get into fights	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	**Recoded**
23	In my group we help each other	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	
24	I find difficult to say no when my friends are planning to do something bad	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	**Recoded**
25	I listen to my family when they say that I should avoid getting into fights	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	
26	If I am preparing for a fight I feel safer if I have a stick, knife or a gun	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	**Recoded**
27	I never discuss my things with my parents	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	
28	I feel safe at school	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	
29	At home we speak about our problems and try to find a solution	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	
30	I like to be with groups that don`t get into troubles	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	
31	My parents, brothers and sisters love me	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	
32	I like to do group work with my classmates	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	
33	We have fights at home often	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	**Recoded**
34	I like to help other children	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	
35	In a group one should say one`s opinion	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	
36	I say sorry if I had done something wrong to another child	**YES!**□	yes □	no □	**NO!**□	

37	I get angry if a friend leaves me alone and goes with a new friend	**YES!**	yes	no	**NO!**	**Recoded**
38	I share my things with my group of friends	**YES!**	yes	no	**NO!**	
39	I like to be at peace with my classmates	**YES!**	yes	no	**NO!**	
40	It is normal to have problems with others	**YES!**	yes	no	**NO!**	**Recoded**

11.7. APPENDIX 6B

Questionnaire (Spanish original)

Lo que pienso sobre cómo manejar conflictos

Gracias por responder a estas preguntas y contarnos acerca de lo que usted piensa sobre cómo manejar conflictos. Sus respuestas nos ayudarán a entender como los estudiantes manejan los problemas que tienen con otros.

Ahora puedes contestar las siguientes preguntas diciendo lo que realmente piensa. Recuerde que esto no es una evaluación o examen, así que aquí no hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas. Sólo queremos saber lo que piensas. Usted no necesita escribir su nombre.

Gracias!

Lea las frases siguientes y marque con un guion ☑ la respuesta más apropiada de acuerdo a su opinión. Vea los ejemplos

1.	Me gusta el espagueti	**SI!** ☑	si ☐	no ☐	**NO!** ☐
2.	Me gusta jugar con mis amigos	**SI!** ☐	si ☐	no ☐	**NO!** ☐
3.	Odio las matemáticas	**SI!** ☐	si ☐	no ☐	**NO!** ☐
4.	Me gusta estar solo	**SI!** ☐	si ☐	no ☐	**NO!** ☐

Ahora nos gustaría hacerle algunas preguntas acerca de usted. Conteste todas las preguntas de abajo, por favor.

1. ¿Cuál es su edad?	
2. ¿Cuál es su género?	Masculino ☐ Femenino☐
3. ¿En qué grado esta?	
4. ¿En qué barrio vive?	
5. ¿Quién es la persona responsable de usted en su casa?	
6. Otros adultos que viven conmigo y me cuidan son:	hermano☐ Abuela ☐ tía ☐ tío ☐ primo ☐ amigo ☐ otro☐

Lea las frases cuidadosamente y escoja la respuesta que mejor se adapte a usted.		**Marque solo una respuesta ☑**			
1.	Otros niños me insultan o me amenazan	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
2.	Otros adultos me insultan o me amenazan	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
3.	Cuando un amigo de mi grupo se pelea con alguien trato de detenerlo	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
4.	Otros niños me golpean	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
5.	Otros adultos me golpean	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
6.	Es bueno ser duro para que los demás no me molesten seguido	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
7.	Hay muchas peleas en mi barrio y yo las veo	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
8.	Mis amigos tienen armas en caso de que algo suceda	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
9.	Nadie se mete cuando hay peleas en mi barrio	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
10	Muchas veces tengo que amenazar a otros niños	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
11	Si otro compañero de clase me está acosando o golpeando le digo a alguien (mi maestro, padre o amigo	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
12	Algunos compañeros del colegio me matonean seguido	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
13	Si su compañero está siendo amenazado o golpeado por otro compañero, usted lo ayudaría?	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
14	Los niños merecen ser castigados físicamente cuando desobedecen a sus padres	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
15	Después de pelear con mi amigo nosotros nos perdonamos y seguimos siendo amigos	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
16	Cuando pierdo un partido o un juego, me da rabia y me pongo violento	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
17	Si me pongo celoso o envidioso de alguien quisiera "hacerle daño " a esa persona- en mis pensamientos	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
18	Cuando tengo un problema con otro niño digo palabras feas y groserías	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □

19	Yo trato de hablar cuando tengo un problema en vez de pelear a puños	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
20	Me siento como un cobarde si digo que no voy a pelear	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
21	Si un niño se pone cansón y se burla de mí por lo general no lo puedo parar a menos que le golpee	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
22	Es bueno ser parte de un grupo, no importa si roban cosas o se meten en peleas	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
23	En mi grupo de amigos todos nos ayudamos	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
24	Me parece difícil decir no cuando mis amigos están planeando hacer algo malo	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
25	Obedezco a mi familia cuando dicen que evite meterme en peleas	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
26	Si me estoy preparando para una pelea, me siento más seguro si tengo algo para defenderme	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
27	Nunca le cuento mis cosas con mis padres	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
28	Me siento seguro en la escuela	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
29	En casa hablamos de nuestros problemas y tratamos de encontrar una solución	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
30	Me gusta estar con grupos que no se meten en problemas	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
31	Mis padres, hermanos y hermanas me aman	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
32	Me gusta realizar trabajos en grupo con mis compañeros de clase	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
33	En mi casa siempre tenemos peleas	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
34	Me gusta ayudar a otros niños	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
35	En un grupo uno también debe decir lo que piensa	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
36	Pido perdón si he hecho algo malo a otro niño	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
37	Me pongo bravo si uno de mis amigos me deja solo y se va con un amigo nuevo	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
38	Yo comparto mis cosas con mi grupo de amigos	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
39	Me gusta estar en paz con mis compañeros	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □
40	Es normal tener problemas con otros	**SI!** □	si □	no □	**NO!** □

GRACIAS POR COMPLETAR ESTE CUESTIONARIO!

11.8. APPENDIX 7

Strata Classification in Colombia

The socio-economic stratification in Colombia refers to the classification of residential properties that make use of public services. This stratification is done to charge differentially by strata the public services to every house allowing allocating subsidies and collecting contributions. In this way, those who have more economic capacity pay more for the public services and subsidize the houses in the lower strata to pay their tariffs. The socioeconomic stratification does not take into account the income per person living in every house and the norms related to the stratification stipulate that residential property should be stratified and not households.

Stratification is based on the characteristics of the houses and their urban or rural environment is a methodological approach based on the characteristics of the housing-environment expresses a demonstrable socioeconomic way of life. The socioeconomic strata in which the houses and / or properties can be classified are 6, as follows:

1. Low-low: Very poor

2. Low: Poor

3. Middle-Low: Slightly poor to enough

4. Middle: Enough

5. Middle High: Rich

6. High: Very rich

The nomenclature of the current study thus defines the strata categories as follows: 'poor' strata are strata 1-2; 'middle class' corresponds to strata 3-4; and 'rich' strata include strata 5-6.

References: Congreso de Colombia. Ley 142 de 1994 (julio 11), artículo 102; Departamento Nacional de Estadística: www.dane.gov.co

11.9. APPENDIX 8

Citations Used for Thematic Analysis and Interpersonal Perspective Taking Scoring

CITY	SCHOOL	STRATA	AGE	GENDER	CITATIONS
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N1: When talking one has to approach a person decently with good manners they must have a very clear point of view because if they are both offended both should maintain respect when clarifying things as they are.
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N3: I think we should or they should talk eh relieve themselves but really not offending and when everything is clarified then try again do not have to throw everything away for a simple event that should not ruin anyone's life but then Alexandra also has to understand or they have to understand each other because if Juliana does not understand Alexandra then it will not be possible.
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	F	N1: (A friend) should not speak behind my back do not talk about people close to me that respects each other's views and it is not just one but the two say their opinions and say yes or no
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N2: I think that Alexandra must respect the fact that she (her friend) was chosen...
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N1: then they come back together to their friendship as before and to be friends that respect and like each other
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N2: Well talk and respect each other talk normal and be sure of what you say
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N2: Respect is when for example two people speak in a civilised manner without verbal or physical aggressions and show respect in other words not saying bad words or behave improperly
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N5: You learnt that one should not swear and respect our friends
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	M	I: To get back as friends they should speak good N1: And respect each other N3: Respect each other a lot
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	I: What is dialogue? N5: Speaking respectfully...No hurting the person intimately N4: Talking to one another seriously...For example without laughing and without playing because sometimes you play with the feelings of others
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N2: Well they reconcile talking straight saying things the things that matter
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N2: Well I think that many people do not know that sometimes we are afraid of not being accepted then one starts talking the way the other person likes.
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N1: Well I believe it is like sharing what they feel and yes talk it would be difficult and it would be like trying to relieve yourself and saying I think that you got in but I also feel bad because it was our dream ... then it would be something like that
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N5: Well often fear happens when we do not feel comfortable with that person when we need to talk and the feelings that exist towards that person
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N2: Juliana feels that Alexandra does not want to accept her and then is afraid that if she want to sit and talk to Alexandra Alexandra will reject her and then that is why she has not approached Alexandra and Alexandra thinks that Juliana is proud

					and that she will be rejected then that's what makes one stay away from the other what is missing is that one of the two of take the first step and overcome the problem
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N1: Well I think that if we are afraid well let us get rid of that fear and fight for what was built at some point and let us rebuild it again
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N2: ...maybe I'm imagining for example that she will change me then because I am afraid that happens but it is an imagination ... leave envy and selfishness aside and perhaps the fear and start all over again
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N3: ...the person will still experience rancour towards her and the person that thinks like this feels bad because it is not expressing it out so and she is afraid to express what she feels
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	M	N3: Do not lie ... Don't keep secrets there [don't keep secrets to yourself]
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	F	N1: When Julia get some spare time from the matches and the championships Julia could take a bit of time to talk to Alexandra and Alexandra can try to talk to Julia and you can apologize be friends again and say that they should not fight again because they are best friends since childhood
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N2: You can call him to speak with him and apologize and start talking about the problem why he is angry
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N3: But she is not the one to blame the other is ... she should apologize should go to her home and apologize
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N1:...whatever you do there will always be one that is better than the other so if I were Juliana I would encourage her I would ask how does she feel that if she could support her or If she feels bad or something like to talk
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N2: For example my Spanish teacher told us in class that we have to always say things with good manners like that if I were to tell V. [name of a girl]… I mean one doesn't feel what one is sayingN1: And how does one say I love youN2: and one remains just there (not showing emotions)N1: It's like you say with gestures I hate you N2: Women have that problem because they say I love you when you do not feel it and one has to feel it...N1: One does not say you I hate (giving a hug).
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N1: Let's say with those people one tries to talk and it appears that they don't care and continue to act in the same way it doesn't matter what you tell them then the last option is to hit.
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N3: I find it difficult because if Sebastian would want to talk to Alex and Alex would not want to speak to Sebastian the situation then becomes more difficult for them to talk
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N1: He fell while playing soccer and it was an accident he stood up and then he did not want to be my friend and he said it and began to fight with me... So I was going to say something and he would not listen to me
	CS	Middle	Old	F	N4: And the other [girl] doesn't care to stop arguing and gain stability
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N2: He wanted to fight I tried to calm him I told my teacher I avoided him it was our own fault from both of us
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N3: When he (friend) is making too many jokes because I am not good at something I tell him many times to stop if he does not stop then I tell the teacher but if he continues I beat him otherwise he doesn't stop.

Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	M	N1: Fix the problem because you could no longer speak N3: Well yes it if it wasn't possible with good manners then we do it the hard way (hitting)
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	I: And you admit your mistakes? N5: Well sometimes you admit them sometimes not because one gets ... N5: Sometimes yes sometimes not because sometimes one gets busy with other things and then forget and you are not interested in reflecting yes sometimes is our own pride ...
Bogota	V	R	Old	M	N3: To think that you are superior
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N5: Well I think there is... anxiety inside because later ...they might meet again but ...but Sebastian could try to be proud... Try to presume ... that he is better than none can overcome him that he has been the hero of this school then so I think ...
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N4: Well as we were in the same school then N5: She went one way and I the other that is we bump into each other eager to talk but as she explained ... I: And how did you get to talk? N5: Pride pride wins over one
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N1: If she stopped talking to me well she shall come back and talk to me
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N2: No that's superiority superiority complex pride is like saying I'm not going to bow down to you I'm not going to humiliate myself before you you were the one who made the mistake you are the one that solves it I do not have to apologize I will say nothing
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N3: Yes because he did not focus on bragging or anything like that eh ... he felt happy ... instead Alex yes ... got angry with him ...for the pride he felt because ... for his skills also
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N5: ...because sometimes one gets busy with other things and then you forget and you are not interested in reflecting or yes sometimes is pride …
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N4: Yes one can cry if needed to express feelings it is a feeling and needed…
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N5: Say what you feel don’t cry...It's ugly to cry so try to be strong not to cry …
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N1: Envy feelings yes sometimes but I let it go and learn to know myself and my capabilities. I felt sadness and bitter a little bit then dialogue starts and then forgiveness. She has to know why my indifference learning to know each other.
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N1: I think she should talk to her friend about her jealousy so that they become friends again jealousy should not damage a friendship
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N2: Share with each other what they feel... It's like expressing what the other felt while the other got in the team and that when she tells the other what she really felt then the other is able to understand and will know what to do.
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N4: Well share the things mutually because if one holds rancour it will not help either as the friend is thinking that we already well
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N2: Talk express your emotions
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N1: I think the dialogue between Alexandra and Juliana will be very difficult because for example with my friend when we argue we start fighting first we yell at each other I first then her etc., then I think first there is an argument and then the two of them could agree that they must be back together it's like a dialogue first a fight then the problem is solved.

Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N5: Eh I'm Juliana yes and I would give her a handshake and ask forgiveness and and and when she would be calmed I would say that I would help her to improve to go with me to basketball ...
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N4: And you stand face to face looking at the person and say I am sorry for doing this and that
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N1: I think the end of my story would be that Alexandra and Juliana as they discuss they reach an agreement Alexandra supports Juliana and Juliana tells her to do other things you are very good at other things and that they would be friends again.
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	M	N1: ... let's say I have a friend who is called Barrios and he plays a lot... and because sometimes they choose him and sometimes I am chosen then yes it causes us to feel envy but we play anyway I: When you say it causes us envy then how do you handle it? Not because he and I talk and we say we will play to goals and so and so and then we take turns.
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N2: Yes to me what happens sometimes is that when we have a disagreement we say that we need to talk urgently alone and talk normally only talk about half of the things and after some time we are good
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	M	N4: They should talk because if they really are friends they should support each other
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	M	N1... because sometimes they choose him (friend) and sometimes me and then yes we feel envy but we play anyway ... I: How is that? N1: Not because he and I talked and we say we will play to goals and so and so and and and take turns. ... then we talk and we take turns
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N1: N1: They have to dialogue and talk things because things are not resolved by getting angry and saying bad things. I: Things are not solved ... N1: Behaving angry with insults or bad words I: How things are solved then? N1: Dialogue person to person and finding out what happened why are they fighting
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	M	N4: To talk between them on their own...to talk about what happened with the tournament
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	M	N2:To talk about how to resolve things (the problem)
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N2: That they should talk and resolve things (the problem)
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N3: They would talk and go there
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N3: ...well the two of them sit down to talk and resolve their differences and forgive forgive
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	M	N3: They will talk to become friends...let's say talk again as friends
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N2: Juliana was sad because she wanted to talk with her and apologise
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	I: how this dialogue works to solve the problem how the dialogue evolves? N2: Speaking Seriously
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	M	I: do you think they should talk? Why? N2: To be friends again... N4: they should talk daily … N5:to trust
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N1: Well in that case it would be better for both of them to speak to resolve things and help Alexandra because they shouldn't stop

					years of friendship of many for a game then it would be better to dialogue
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	F	1,2,3,4,5: Yes everything is solved by talking.
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N5: For example it happened to me that another friend named Juliana asked me to buy her (sweets) but I said no then she said that I was not a good friend but I said it is because the teacher told us not buy (sweets) to other (children) and she understood and we forgave each other but if I had not explained to her she could have understood me wrong and the problem would have got worse
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N4: It is not just about talking but to understand understand the position of the other person because each friend have to put herself in the shoes of the other
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N2: Anybody can experience envy...my friend felt a lot of envy she told me and I tried to understand her but we learn to forgive because it was a long-time friendship
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N3: I think we should or they should talk eh relieve themselves but really not offending and when everything is clarified then try again do not have to throw everything away for a simple event that should not ruin anyone's life but then Alexandra also has to understand or they have to understand each other because if Juliana does not understand Alexandra then it will not be possible.
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N1: My friend understood that anybody can go through it (envy) *
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	I: And what is understanding?N2: To know what the other feels
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N1: Because they are childhood friends they should understand each other. If they understand each other they could talk and reach an agreement...
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N4: (Alexander) should understand Sebastian
					N3: they speak and understand the problem and become friends again
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N3: I think it is to recognize the mistakes that one has made and discussed it with the affected one says that there is a commitment because obviously nobody feels good doing something wrong but one has to ask for forgiveness so that one can get along with other people because there is no use to speak hypocritical saying one thing here and another thing there
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N1: ...they meet and look at each other then Juliana who has the basketball then she says she recognizes her mistake and says to Alexandra forgive me I admit my mistake and I feel sorry if you want we can continue to be friends, forgive me please forgive me and let's be back being friends
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N1: And then he writes in Facebook asking to forgive him that he was angry and that everything remains normal…
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	N2: And he said would you forgive me for everything that I've said?
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	N3: Forgiving is that when you fall and they laugh and then say to you please excuse me that I laughed because there is when problem comes and what is the apology then the apology is that when you do something wrong you say forgive me for what I did.
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	N4: Forgiving is when you do a fault to your friend while playing football and you say forgive me I thought it was the other and you

					trip him then you must run to lift him up and say forgive me because I wasn't looking
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	M	N2: Well shake hands and say I regret having done what he did and will not do it again that he has to be more careful than he is sorry that is all
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N1: Well I told him the truth and asked him to forgive me and that I was not going to do it again
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N2: They have to forgive each other forgive me friend and I will not do it again it was just because I was angry and I am happy to be able to be with you
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N1: But Alexandra says to Juliana and Juliana will have to answer Alexandra then Alexandra tells Juliana you have to say forgive me friend I will not do it again let us try to be together again and Juliana agrees I forgive you as a real friend and that is also what friendship is about
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	M	N4: Eh I told them and they discussed during the break and they discussed with me and became friends again I: and now all three are friends and how was that conversation what did you speak about? N4: I don't really remember but but Alejandro did something to make Chica feel good then they went back to being friends.
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N1: We forgive each other and that this should not happen again
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	M	N3: That means one asks for forgiveness for punching you in your face and that I also hurt you and then he says I forgive you then I say good let's play and he says yes best friends and that is it
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	N2: To forgive it is talk about the problems and solve them
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N3: I am calm because I have asked forgiveness and was forgiven then the friend …
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N1: One feels like a weight is removed off and you feel calmer (after apologising)
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	I: What do you feel when asking forgiveness? N1: Love Happy 2: Tranquil happy 3:something is gone fear of being punished is gone
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N1: [After receiving forgiveness]...Relief means: Express feelings sharing with others feeling emotional and serene no worries nothing to think about life is good and fun.
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N1: Before asking forgiveness feels sad bitter and hold rancour in his heart
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N2: Well I feel bad for example because one has not said forgive me
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	I: What do you feel when you forgive? N3: Enthusiasm and glad N5: It feels good with the friend
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	M	N3: Forget everything that happened before everything that was bad
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N1: Forget everything that happened and become friends again
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N5: Forget all that happened between them and start again building the friendship little by little
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N4: If seems to me that is the most obvious thing to achieve a good reconciliation as my friend says then forget things because if you forget is forgotten
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	N3: And if Julia would apologize obvious that one doesn't punish God is sad but forgiving.

Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N4: Not to forget because one does not forget what one has done wrong but having courage to recover and choose not to do it again
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N1: Forgiveness is to forgive is an act of forgiveness. Forgiveness is a heartfelt word that one feels for the other person that one wants to forgive the other person what she did or for doing something wrong
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	M	N4: It's as if they were friends and then forgive again and on and on (fighting) N5: That would not be a true forgiveness but forgiveness would be fake…Because when one asks for forgiveness has to be heartfelt and has to be real N4: it must be that heartfelt forgiveness
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N1:…think better and see if you can forgive or not because if you keep record of wrongs it is better not to forgive.
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N4: Concerning forgiving each other because it is worse obviously if it will not be a sincere forgiveness without rancour without hatred or anything because when it is a forgiveness that does not come from the heart and that she doesn't want to grant it is better not be granted because then they will continue with all that kind of stuff and then the other person will feel attacked
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N1: And also apologize it is also like one feeling what other people feel
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	N3: So is like I reborn again to be reborn as a friend we agree to remain friends forever and I will never fight again.
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N1:We do nothing but one begins to give bad looks and leave but then I go and I feel sad but leave anyway and then when we are back from the break we are giving hugs to each other
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N4: I think the end would be that Julia continues playing basketball and other sports and Alexandra apologizes when they grew up were very good friends.
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N1: Story ends: Eh forgiving each other and being best friends.
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	M	N2:Then he forgive him so that they can be friends again
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N1: That is recognizing one's mistakes and not looking at other's
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N4: Apologise to the other and promise that that will never happen again
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N3: This for example we separated because we were fighting then for example I say forgive me and if she will forgive me then I would say yes.
Cucuta	EH	Poor	Old	F	N2: Forgiving the offense the other does to us for example to forgive when she insults me obviously it was a mistake then I forgive her
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N4: [Alexandra to] ask for forgiveness to Juliana and become friends to talk and play.
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	N2: If I were Alexandra and if the other was my best friend then she would apologize to me and I would accept
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N5: I would ask Alexandra and apologize ... my friend ... and we could play together again.
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	N4: Story ends: Fight …then they don't resolve it *
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N4:It seems to me that they cannot remain best friends because they have distanced too much each have got in their own things then I think that if they can be friends and can continue to accompany each other but they will not have the same trust as before because they knew that if one achieves the goal that the

					other also wanted then the other is going to get jealous then I do not think that's a good thing in a best friend relationship so I think
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N3: So they reconciled and say now that you are my friend we're not fighting anymore but it is not going to be like best friends we will be acquaintances we will discuss common matters and would be classmates
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N1: I would tell the coach that she has good practices for basketball please let my friend in the team she is a very good player. I: ... and if that doesn't happen. N1: The friendship relationship will no longer be as before when we played we shared. ... Well we could not talk or play or share if it doesn't work
	CS	Middle	Old	F	N3: Well usually one almost always say yes [I forgive] but if it went too far one would say yes mumbling because one still keeps something deep inside I: You don't believe - and then do you still talk to each other? N3: Well continue talking but the trust is not the same
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N2: The one that got in the team but the other was not chosen even though they were not friends any longer they missed each other
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	Afraid that time will separate them and that she will be replaced by another friend
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N1: ... as I always do not I will not always be together with my classmates or my friends in other words a friend is to have fun and have a good time and live happy moments but ... to become attached so that if he is there and I'm not then I get angry not then if he was chosen good cool I can also be like him ...
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N3: I think they have to support each other whatever happens and they also have to understand the reality of things that is because they are growing and are entering new stages in life and never never you know if you can share everything with either Juliana or Alexandra and they have to understand that and have a new opportunity.
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N4: I would not leave the team because it is what I liked and I have to move on…
	MB	Poor	Young	F	N3: Well the problem is that both had both wanted to participate but they chose only one then why did they chose only one why they didn't think carefully knowing that they were friends why not to put both of them
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N2: We are framed in norms assuming we (friends) have to be always together and do the same; We have different capabilities and that is what makes us better
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N1: Well I am surprised that they chose Juliana because they should have chosen the other so that she wouldn't get angry chose the two of them so that she would not get angry and play basketball I didn't like it
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N4: I had a fight with my friend because of gossip I felt really bad and betrayed we had a very hard discussion we yelled at each other*
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	F	N4: Friends shouldn't believe a third person

Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	F	N1: In other words we welcomed the (new) girl so that she would not feel alone but what she did was to break the friendship and right now she believes what she says and I believe her what she tells me and now we are in conflict often because many times she says things that are not
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	N3:Well if I would be in the team I would be happy ... But it would be sad at the same time because Alexandra because Alexandra is sad then one gets sad when the other is sad ...
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N2: I feel bad for her but it was my dream I am proud to be in
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N4: Mm ... partly because I would be proud of myself and it was my goal even if I was not accompanied but I would not like it because I lost something that is very sacred to me because I lost and win at the same time then it does not feel good
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N5: Perhaps Juliana feels a little bit sad because her friend was not accepted to join the group but partly also would be happy and proud of herself because she got what she wanted ...
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N1: I would be happy and a little resentful resentful because I feel resentful because I could not get in I feel like anger towards me but I also feel sad because couldn`t get in and happy at the same time because my friend got in
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N5: Well for example I do not consider myself to be super-competitive and do not fight with my best friends because being competitive I could cause problems
Bogota	CS/V	Poor	Young	M	N4: Yes and he said yes but Alex not and then I would say let him play I won't play otherwise and then I would fight
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N2: If I were Julia I perhaps would say to the basketball coach if you can accept Alexandra because she's my friend if not I would leave the team.
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N5: Well my end would be that each would know what they did wrong know and accept their mistakes then fix it because one learns from mistakes and if in the end if you have a very good friendship that is supposed to be good friends well then almost anything could be solved and given that it is a minor problem as this
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N5: And then if something then I would say to give my prize to another in order to keep the friendship with her
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N1: … instead of being so he should help his friend because they are such good friends because instead of ...discouraging him encourage him.
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N1: Because they are childhood friends then they should understand each other
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N2: Story ends: Being happy and that we're best friends forever
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N3: On Monday when we arrived at school I said to him (friend) something happened and that is that I like this girl he said me too and then we started chatting and just chatting...We did not talk about it again (liking the same girl)
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N1: If I would be Sebastian I would get him (friend) in the team or would make myself be suspended so that he could get in the team
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N2: Not really because if she likes to do that and everyone likes different things there common interests but there are different things that each enjoy and each is better at those things that shows that she is better at it and I support her and she supports me when I'm good at something else

Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N1: Well if you could not be any more with your friend because one has a lot of work and the other is always with her life she should get some more friends more friends to play or in case of an emergency happening to Alexandra .N3: For example when she is sick and there would not be visits for Alexandra she would be alone that is whyN5: or for example while training soccer she would fall and no one was looking then there would not be no one to help her at that moment
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N5: I feel happy for my friend she is good at colouring and she helps me colouring
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N5: I sometimes help friends in difficult things like a homework evaluation that he does not understand one asks his friend if you can help the other and if you understand then you helps a little bit and he understand and they can be friends and also if you are not friends your friends can be best friends
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	F	N2: A good friend is that accompany you in good times and in bad they always support and share with you
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	F	N5: They should talk because they are really friends they should support each other.
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N1: Well if I was Alex I first would have not been angry with my friend because he is my life friend and have always played and we have always been happy together and because one is accepted and then other not then they get angry and fight over silly things then if I would be Alex instead of fighting I would support my friend would support him and yes I would support him.. .
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N1: We spend time during breaks at school we support each other also some fights and all of that but (laughs) it is important always to share everything
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N1: I would say to go ahead with her dream as I could not make it then I would support her to succeed.
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N4: Well from my point of view is not a problem worth saying that the friendship ends here because there may be very good agreement between them both then it seems to me that they play very good tennis then they can start playing tennis or something. It is not a difficult problem to solve
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N1: ... "bobada" is a nonsense is like fighting with a person for something that is meaningless let's say it's like a separation is like when one is accepted in a team and the other is in another team...and if they would fight it would be to fight a nonsense...
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N3: to be fighting unnecessarily in their friendship fighting for a triviality "bobada" they see each other daily at school and can play and they are fighting because one have got in the team and the other not
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N3: Well yes so that their friendship does not stop because ... they are friends and to fight for an almost a silly thing such as being chosen for a football team then …
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N1:Well I would say that they can recover the time lost talk things right they are not to fight over nonsense things and be best friends again
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N5:... to be someone you're not and actually your best friend have to accept as you are otherwise he is not your friend
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	F	N1: Share the bad and good things and to trust even when one is going to do terrible things
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N2: To be yourself with that person based on the trust one might share

Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N3: In other words before he used to say "Hi" and he didn't respond but now he says "Hi" and he answers because now there is trust because he knows he is forgiven
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N5: A best friend is somebody that in whom one trust the most to whom one tells everything ask for advice and all that
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	M	N3: We play this way (aggressive game) because we have trust in each other.
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N5: Everyone inside knows that for each the experience can be different to Sebastian could be a good experience to be accepted to Alex that was not accepted each has an experience in one way or another well it can serve for good to each of them
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N2: Accept that you lost one can try again can also improve and practise
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N2: ...Alex has an attitude like ... he is strong he doesn't ... he always, always want to win because he doesn't like defeat
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N5: I don't know I respect it you win or lose
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N4: That Sebastian because he had the skills to enter and Sebastian did not say that Alexander did not get in it was just like that and then Alexander should not be angry with Sebastian...
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N3: One has to accept that we couldn't make it and help her to continue her race
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N2: Accept that you could not enter the team because you did not practice much or could not because the one choosing did not like you
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N3...I would ask her to teach me N3...I would ask her to teach me for example braided hair
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	M	N1: I would tell him to teach me so that in the future we could enjoy together
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N1: I feel happy that he is good as a goalkeeper because we can win the match
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N3: The problem is that both wanted to join the team but not possible two well it was possible but Juliana was chosen because she play a bit more basketball then what I understood is that when you have a best friend you do not have to get angry you have to be happy about it and congratulate her
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	M	N1: Good for him that he plays good tennis
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N2: So let's say another friend says that you are all I do not know why and I do not know that and then she starts hitting us like this and pushing us and then one thinks what happens I want to work things out but not hitting yes I mean yes reflect about what you are doing but there is people who do not recognize their mistakes do not accept them
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N2: Dialogue. In moment of anger and envy nobody speaks. Better wait till both are calm. One has to give first step to come near. Perhaps more anger comes up
Bogota	V	R	Young	M	I: And how do you so that anger stops? N2: Eh taking quiet time breathing. I: How how do you do it? N5: Thinking breathing deep. N5: Counting to 10. N5: and I calm down

Bogota	V	R	Young	M	I: How do you calm your anger? N2: You think I: What do you think? N2: If seriously it was my fault or not or if it was on purpose. I: And then what? N2: Well I calm down and continue and continue.
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	I: And how do you handle anger? N2: Eh having tranquillity breathing N5: Thinking, breathing deep N5: Counting to 10
Bogota	MB	P	Young	M	N3: Let's say I walk away from him and then I tell him that I do not want to fight with him
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	M	I: How do you avoid how to get into the fight? N2: I tell him to calm down.
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N4: When a friend gets in a football team at school dont get angry because he was chosen
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	M	N2: He would apologize because he wanted to be in the tournament but could not then did not have to get angry with Sebastian because he had nothing to do with it.
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N2: I would feel bad because my friend won. I want to win also. I would continue to be her friend
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	M	N3: Anger does not let you not have fun and you do not think.
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N1: Well one tries to control things and try not to see the bad part of that but if I get insulted... I say to her do not tell me that because I guess you do not like me to do the same to you as I would feel bad then I would try to talk with her so that she does not do that.
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N3: Think about the consequences perhaps the actions one does with rage in other words there is people who out of rage kills another person.
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N1: I get the same feeling as Alexandra jealous very jealous but I do not say anything to her I am jealous that you do this and I don’t she is very good at English and I am not so good but anyway I am jealous as Alexandra sad knowing that I cannot do what she can .
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N1: No that's a lie at least a little bit but one feels envy but one tries not to show it and do not let envy go over everything and tell her to teach you.
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	I: What do you do when you get annoyed (envy)? N4: I make ugly faces but I keep it for me to not fight with her
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N1: If somebody (friend) would be doing something else then I would do something else
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N2: I would look for other options as I said get myself in another sport …
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	M	N2: You have to accept loosing you can try again can also improve and practice
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N2: No because if it would be me who had won for example I'm Juliana I wish my friend would understand me neither it is not about giving her my place to make her feel happy ... Because if it was my prize and not hers good because I achieved my goal and I feel bad because she did not make it but was also my dream and I am proud to be there

Cucuta	EH	R	Young	M	N4 I try to stop him being jealous to me it is like to be a friend who gives a gift and try to give many things so that his friend be back and get rid of his jealousy.
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N3: Obviously I don't feel so happy I feel uncomfortable but I say to myself good for her and I am good at something else
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N3: Well I think I am an assertive person with my best friend I already know how it is and then eh when it happens to me I'm like I tell my friend that I'm happy for her obviously I would not feel the happiest person in the world because it is obviously uncomfortable but one I think but I'm also good at this and that and other things then I see the positive side that I have and then so I am ble to handle it
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	M	N2: Well to avoid jealousy you have to make an effort if one is jealous we should not get angry rather you have to practice you have to focus more on the football so that you too can play even better than Sebastian instead of fighting and arguing
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N2: I'm also good trying harder
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	M	N4: I would feel things but instead of getting angry I would find something else in which I am good
Cucuta	EH	R	Young	M	N4: No hey teacher I try to ignore Diego I try to think that he is not there but he is very annoying when I'm talking to someone else he gets in to annoy me
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	M	I: When you fight with your friend? N4: Eh rude words N2: With ugly words
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	I: ¿How do you fight with words what else? N5: Swearing
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N1: It was for the same reason because I had won… he said hear me you frog you're stupid you are a crack
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	N3: When we fight we say ugly words to each other and we shout at each other
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	I: And how did you fight? N1: Well swearing so that you are dog
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	I: And how do you fight? N1: Swearing words
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N3: Well usually when I fight here with a friend as we get angry we scream at each other sometimes we treat each other badly but it does not last long
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	N4: And he should be a nice person because when he is envious and always wants to be the captain of the game then then the other friends you will not like you and are not going to give anything and no longer play with him because he is all envious who always wants to be the captain
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N2: Well Alex has rancour for not having made it to the games at school and that is what separates them the envy
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	N3: They must feel sad because sometimes they Alex didn't meet him because he was envious because they didn't let him play and inside they must feel sad.
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	The jealousy Alexandra had was that she wanted Juliana out of the team so that she could get in and to be admired and never be kicked out
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N3:Most people don't like to be removed (from team) but prefer to feel equal or better than others

Bogota	V	Rich	Old	m	N5: Because it might be true what he says because as a human being one is not used to been excluded or rejected one is accustomed to always being accepted then when you are not happy then you change
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N3: In this case is not that one feels superior than the other the fact is the opposite Alex feels inferior to Sebastian because Sebastian could pass then is not that one feels superior than the other but Alex feels disregarded inferior to Sebastian. N3: Well we get sad
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N2: Alexandra feels like that because she is not playing with Juliana and that is why they cannot longer be friends they will not be able to be together because Alexandra will feel inferior and if they would speak and one would feel less than the other of course there are things that one is better at than the other.
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N5: I think that Alexandra and Juliana shared everything always and Alexandra wanted and she tried likewise then when she did not make it to the team then she felt more insecureN5: You do not feel capable of doing many things N4: do not trust yourself
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N3: Yes I think she also feels confused because she is having that feeling (envy) but she does not want to make her friend feel bad but that is something she cannot control because it had never happened before
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N2: ¨[Envy is]Like you have something like a little hole here (heart) or empty and feeling bad because you are no longer with your friend and that is why
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N3: Feelings like a mixture of sadness and anger why because that's basically what it feels like when one is jealous wants something but he cannot get it.
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N2: I think so because because both wanted to play on the basketball team then they chose only Juliana then that is why she [Alexandra] got angry
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N4: Or sometimes for example she is in the team and then she brags and the other feels bad
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N5: Jealousy means is feeling shame and being angry because one has one thing and the other does not and that he can go to another school.
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	N5: To be jealous is that one has a friend and the other says she has found another friend
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	N5: Jealous is to have a friend and the following day she goes with another friend
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	M	N2: I would not like because it is ugly to be jealous and fight with a friend even more if he is like a brother because they know each other from childhood and it is to be bitter and it is not to have fun neither have emotions
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N1: Because you would feel ugly because you also want to join the group and that I have not been chosen and only the best was chosen then one should not be envious and who would not want to play with the person because she was chosen then she would say that she is better for I was not chosen then it would be ugly

Bogota	F	Poor	Young	M	I: Let's see let's think for a moment, close your eyes, when I feel envy what do I feel? N1: It`s like anger I: Anger what else? N4: Fight, fury I: fight N4: fight, fury N2: Cursing N3: Hitting N4: Offense I: Hitting when one is envious one thinks in hitting N2: I scratch him
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N3: We fight and then we forgive each other. We pull each other's' hair.
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N4: We kick each other and fist fighting but not so hard. We swear at each other. I pull the other girl's leg softly so when she falls it doesn`t hurt a lot
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N1: My friend kicked me out of his house because I am better than him in computer games once we punched each other until his mother came to stop us
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	N4: A problem that when when ... the friend comes home the mother says Sebastian go to the room to play and then Alex says oh and because you did not want to play and then that he wanted to play and they grab themselves at each other's throat
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	N4: They're going to grab themselves at each other's throat and Sebastian leaves and Alex stays in the school.
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N1: When we fight we swear at each other we push each other
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	M	N3: Because when he gets angry gets fury come here do you want to see this? N3: And punches him in the face come friend let's play and he comes and close your eyes ...have it (friend gets punched)
Cucuta	EH	R	Young	M	N2: I feel that I am almost nothing I think and say that I leave that I do not want to study more I do not fight not to hurt the friend and well and I do not bother them.
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	You feel like if you are nothing nothing is worthwhile as if one was the ugliest.
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	N2: My friend is good at doing her homework I: Would you like to be like her?N2: YesI: And you're jealous that she is very good at doing her homework and you don't? N2: NoI: What do you feel? N2: Sometimes I get angryI: Why? N3: Because she wants to be able to do it rightN2: one tries but cannotN1: I at least could do it a little bit because my friend do things faster then I could make it a bit better
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N1: Being jealous is that other person is the most beautiful and she isn't she is jealous is very jealous that she wants to be that person who is there and that person that to be another person who is ugly that is being jealous
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	F	N2: When a child is better at something than I know cooking for example but there comes a girl and is much better cook than me then I get I do not get jealous or angry as Alexandra experiences I get sad and I begin to tell myself you are bad you always do the things badly I tell myself

Bogota	F	Poor	Young	M	N3: That how does one feels when one is not chosen? I feel something that N4: An emptiness in the heart N3: My emptiness is already empty all like that and my life is ruined N5: Because Alex is, because they were practicing to see who is better in football but then Sebastian won
Bogota	F	Poor	Old	M	N4: Alex is probably angry because Sebastian joined the team and he did not. N4: He had more skill
Bogota	v	Rich	Young	M	N3: That my friends win over me makes me happy but I feel bad because I don't know
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	M	N3: If a student begins to annoy me by being arrogant and boastful that he is good at something being bothersome and believes that he is better than me – then I say have you got a problem? If he say I have then you start beating him...I don't care breaking his bones
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N1: When a schoolmate is disturbing me I solve the problem by punching him I try to speak but if he doesn't listen then I release my anger punching him he deserved it
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N2: One first tries to speak and find out about what they're saying about me and if I do not like it and if that person gets very arrogant I am very sorry but I punch her
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N1: I would tell him to stop bothering me and if he continues annoying me then I hit by punching him
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N1: And you swear at her
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	M	N5: I will fight when I am older
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	F	N4: I feel jealousy for example Samia got a bag and I'm dying of jealousy because I wanted that bag and I did not get it and I'm dying of jealousy because someone else has it and I do not I have it and then I lose control and maybe I can damage Sami's bag
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N5: That she wants to be in but she wants the other to go or that something bad happens to Juliana.
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N4: I make faces keep it to me not to fight with her I want to play the same or better than her for revenge
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	F	"N2: I don't want to forgive her I: You don't want to forgive her, why? N2: I feel like a coward like as if I would have let her do whatever she wanted" (EH.Rich.Female.10yrs)
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N5: … she wants to be in but she wants the other to go or that something bad happens to Juliana.

11.10. APPENDIX 9

Citations used for Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies - Defining the Problem

CITY	SCHOOL	STRATA	AGE	SEX	CITATION
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N2: Alexandra hasn't got over the fact that her friend got in and she didn't …Alexandra doesn't accept that her friend won because she wanted to win and she let the friendship go under the competition
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N3: Eh Juliana won the competition and Alexandra failed and she feels jealous she would like to be in Juliana's place Juliana wants to play with her but she does not want for what had happened she is very angry.
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N4: She is jealous…for her friend's achievement
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	F	N1: Well at the same time is feeling envious because she also wanted to get in the team and didn't and doesn't want to support her friend
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	F	N3: Alexandra is jealous because Julia got in the team and she didn't
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	F	N2: Well that well that time and well Julia doesn't not take time then it is because of that
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	F	N4: So for example one joined the group and the other not they should still be friends anyway that has nothing to do if they two are longtime friends and therefore a simple game shouldn't separate them
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	F	N5: Is in a bad temper because somebody did something that she couldn't achieved
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N4: The envy that one got in the team and the other not and is proud and don't talk to her
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N5: And the sadness of the friend that her friend didn't entered the basketball team and that her friend is angry with her although is not her fault
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N3: Well a small dilemma because one got in and the other one became a bit jealous because she could not get in also
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N1: The friend was jealous for her classmate got in the basketball team
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	F	N2: Well is not so pleased that Juliana had got in the team and Alexandra not
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N4: That both have differences and that's why Alexandra does not want to spend time with her because it wasn't decided what she wanted
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N2: Or maybe it is Alexandras' selfishness not wanting her friend's success as she could not get that opportunity and that's why she got angry or she is selfish with her friend.
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N1: The envy from Alexandra towards her friend Juliana …because she couldn't get in the basketball team
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N3: Moreover if it would be a true friendship she wouldn't be envious would support her
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	F	N5: Even better because I would think that she should support her friend since she got in then should feel proud and support her in all the matches

Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N4: ...I think that Alexandra is envious with Juliana because it doesn't' give her satisfaction that she is happy unless it is with her that's what I think.
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N5: ...like my classmate is saying because that one has different interests and if one was chosen it means one is very good at something and can do it with pride
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N3: Well I think that Alexandra in envious of Juliana because Juliana got in the team and she didn't then she got angry with her and don't want to be friends anymore
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N2: I think that Juliana o Alexandra should respect that she was chosen and that's it
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	F	N1: Well that Alexandra is envious of her own friend although they are childhood friends
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N5: Eh Alexandra is not happy she is not supporting her friend something that actually is making them unhappy but that can be bearable although she didn't passed
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N3: I think Alexandra may be a little jealous because they have shared everything together there comes a time when they will not be able to share everything either in the same job or the same university and she is then affected by that change.
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N4: Well it is a type of envy
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N2: And also rancour envy that she got in and she didn't it feels bad I don't know but I would think that she is not my friend anymore
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	F	N1: Well something that had to happen to you and somebody else achieved and well they have been together for a long time then it would be ugly
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N5: That the friend does not want to spend time with the other because the other was chosen for the football team and he did not then he was chosen to be in the school football team
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N4:That Alex is perhaps angry because Sebastian got in the team and he didn't
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N1: It's like envy from one towards the other because the one won and the other not.
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N3:I think that Sebastian and Alex wanted to be in the football team but Sebastian play better than Alex
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Old	M	N2: Well I would do a match between them to see if one can get out and the other get in
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	M	N3: Envy…that is to be jealous of another another person
Bogota	CAH	Poor	Old	M	N5: Because he did get in the team
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N2: Well Alex has resentment for not having made it to the games to be in the school team and then that is what separates them the envy.
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N1: That both wanted to enter the football team but one was better than the other that is why he was chosen at that time Alex was normal as if he did not care but as time passed by when the friend was in the football team and could not see each other then Alex felt he was no longer his friend then he got angry

Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N3: That Alex was chosen for the school team and then that separated the two friends and Alex at the beginning said to his friends that is ok not problem and then with the trainings Alex' friend hardly meet him and didn't see Sebastian and when Sebastian played he wanted to see Alex but he didn't see him
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N5: Well I think that the problem is in part the envy that Alex could be feeling because of what his friends could achieved and he didn't
Bogota	CS	Middle	Old	M	N4: It is both that he wanted to be in the team also I mean to feel important in the team I believe is his friend but he couldn't make it and he noticed that his friend is also training and that he was …and it was more important than being with Alex then Alex felt envious and didn't want to be anymore with Sebastian
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N:1 That Alex is jealous of Sebastian because he didn't get in the team
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N3: Well Alex is angry because Sebastian was accepted and Alex not better would have been to choose both of them so that they would play football which is what they like
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N5: That yes because Alex is jealous because he was chosen Sebastian was chosen and Alex no
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N4: I was going to say the same as N5
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Old	M	N2: And that Alex is jealous of Sebastian
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N1: Well apparently the problem would be that Alex he feels a little bit distressed because they are best friends and have always been together so that they get separated when they do what they like the most play football then Alex obviously is displeased then it will not be the same that he is in and he is not then why is the argument
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N3: ... my view is that ... Looks like a little bit envious because one got in the team and the other didn't that's why the rivalry between... between the two friends they no longer want to see each other
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N4: Well that Alex liked football very much like Sebastian then when he heard that Sebastian was accepted and he wasn't then he got angry
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	N2: Well I think that …Alex felt disappointed and at the same time angry because he wanted to play football with his friend and…he couldn't then one feels disappointed and also angry then that is why … it didn't become a friend's connection instead Alex felt rivalry with Sebastian
Bogota	MB	Poor	Old	M	Well I would view it as he has to look for his abilities in football that could be in any position but perhaps his friend is better in everything then that is why there is rivalry that … a rivalry that separates them...
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N3:Envy…envy what the other has in other words to despise what you have to have in order to have what others
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N4: Well I think that what happens is that Alex is is jealous for what was given to the other boy then that is why he doing this parody it can be said that he doesn't want to talk anymore with the friend because he is not in the football team
Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N5: I think there are various problems one is Alex's attitude towards the problem for him is not so good that he wasn't accepted in the team and also that what I've heard that Sebastian doesn't have much time for them

Bogota	V	Rich	Old	M	N1: Alex should have another reaction …if Sebastian got in well Alex should support him and could tell him that if somebody is removed from the team the he could recommend him
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N3: Well they grew up together they use to do everything together
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N4: Alexandra doesn't want to talk with Juliana
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N1:That Juliana was chosen
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	F	N2:Juliana is feeling bad
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N4: That the two friends grew up together in the same school and Alexandra didn't talk with Juliana and didn't like each other anymore
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N3:That Juliana was chosen to be in the basketball team and Alexandra didn't want to speak with her and Juliana was sad
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N2:That Juliana was chosen to basketball but the other Alexandra didn't talk to her
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N1: It is that Juliana and Alexandra got in a basketball team but Juliana was chosen and Alexandra wasn't and Alexandra got jealous and didn't talk to her anymore
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	F	N5: Because Juliana got in the basketball and she didn't
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	F	N3: That the two friends don't want the two friends don't want to play do not want to play because Alexandra is upset because Julia doesn't have time to be with her
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	F	N2: What happens is that Julia won in the match … a place and Alexandra didn't not then Alexandra got upset and jealous and did not want to be with her did not want to play and what I think is that's wrong because why blaming one for being better than the other
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	F	I think if Alexandra won the place Julia would also be jealous
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	F	N1: That is not Julia's fault that she would have been accepted in the team
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	F	N4: That Alexandra shouldn't be annoy because it was only Julia the chosen one should be happy for her and continue to play as friends
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N3: I think that the problem is that Alexandra was very angry because Alexandra wanted to be in school's team but she couldn't be her friend Juliana was chosen and the problem is that Alexandra wanted to be in the team but she couldn't because Juliana was chosen
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N5: Both of them wanted to be in the team but only one made it to the team then Alexandra got angry and didn't want to play anymore
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N4: The problem is that Juliana was chosen and then Alexandra got angry
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N2:I think that yes because both wanted to play in the basketball team then only Juliana was chosen then that is why she got angry
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	F	N1: The one who got in the team well the other one who didn't get in the team although they weren't friends they missed each other
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	N1: Well it surprised me when they chose Juliana why they did not choose her they should have chosen the other so that the other would not get angry or they could have chosen the two of them so that she wouldn't be angry to play basketball I liked it so much I loved history but it hurts
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	N2: Why did they do not choose both of them instead on just one

Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	N3: Well the problem is that both both wanted to participate but they chose only one then why did they chose only one why they didn't think well knowing that they were friends why not to choose both of them
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	F	N5: That when Alexandra started crying
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N1: The problem is that…Alexandra is the one who didn't win in the basketball team then she became sad and did not want to play with Julia anymore and then both are sad then that would be the problem.
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N5: I think the problem is that Julia felt bad for not being with her friend Alexandra at the same time happy for having got in the team
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	(They) could still be friends and as I said Julia could teach Alexandra and she could help her with her homework and could still meet and don't leave they could have other friends separate and could remain friends.
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N3: I think that the problem is that they couldn't be together because one had often trainings and homework and the other would be left alone because didn't have anyone to play with then that is what I think the problem was
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	F	N2: And moreover they were together since childhood and to separate is very sad is very sad that Julia yes
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	M	N2: That two small children who played since they were small and then grew and got to a football match and Sebastian was chosen but Alex not then Alex got angry and he did not care and did not want to befriend Sebastian.
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	M	N1: That did not want to play with Sebastian.
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	M	4:That Sebastian did get in the team and he didn't
Cucuta	AB	Poor	Young	M	N5: Because he didn't want to play
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	N3: They should not have chosen one they they have to choose both otherwise the other would say oh no they only chose him they no longer like me
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	N4: And when they were playing football he should not say I do not care because that makes the other friend feel bad
Bogota	CS	Poor	Young	M	N5: Alex was rude because he shouldn't have said that because perhaps his friend would get out and then he could get in he shouldn't have said that I don't care perhaps another friend could be swapped and I could get in
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	M	N3: Because he is sad he is sad…play football and Alex wasn't allowed
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	M	N4: Then he no longer wants to play with him because he was not chosen he liked to play with him but no longer because he was not chosen
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	M	N2: Well my opinion is that Alex is jealous that Sebastian could have better options to play football and he didn't
Cucuta	EH	Rich	Young	M	N1: Don't tell me that he saw another friend
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	M	N2:That Alex and Sebastian was chosen for football...For the football team and the friend got very angry the friend was very angry and Sebastian was very busy playing football and doing his homework at the same time he was very happy because he was chosen for the football team and that's all
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	M	N1: That made Alex alex was sad because they did not choose him

Bogota	F	Poor	Young	M	N3: Because Sebastian was chosen and Alex also could play football and was not chosen because he had to do something with other friends
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	M	N4: Because he felt offended
Bogota	F	Poor	Young	M	N5: That Sebastian is proud that he was chosen but Alex not then Sebastian realised that he didn't want to be alone without Alex
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N2: I think because he is always a player and was chosen because he is a better player and he knew more and the other not ... No because because he was not yet didn't know how to get the ball
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N5: I believe that ...because they are friends since they were very small then he is embarrassed to ask the coach if he could get him out and place him instead but he got embarrassed and then Alex got angry with Sebastian because they put him in because he has more experience.
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N1: or will find somebody else
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N4: When a friend gets in a football team at school don’t get angry because he was chosen
Bogota	MB	Poor	Young	M	N3: Let's say that one is playing and the other don't
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	M	N5: That Alex is angry
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	M	N3: That Alex wanted to get in the team as Sebastian but couldn't and then got angry
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	M	N2: That Sebastian wanted to do one thing but also wanted to be with he wanted to be in a tournament but also wanted to be with Alex then he had to choose one because …
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	M	N4: And didn't want to play anymore with Sebastian because he is angry
Bogota	V	Rich	Young	M	N1: That Sebastian is sad because he wanted Alex to play with him again but Alex didn't want because he is angry

11.11. APPENDIX 10

Focus Group Themes with Sub-Themes and Codes with Corresponding Citation Examples

THEME	SUB-THEME	CODE	CITATION EXAMPLE
Dialogue in handling conflict Dialogue is seen as the essential route to solve conflict, largely due to the conducive setting for exchange of forgiveness	**Clarify problem** Verbally explain reason for conflict with expectation of mutual understanding (i.e. sad feelings or envy) with the intent to solve conflict	Talk about the problem	N1: They have to dialogue and talk things because things are not resolved by getting angry and saying bad things. I: Things are not solved ... N1: Behaving angry with insults or bad words I: How things are solved then? N1: Dialogue person to person and finding out what happened why are they fighting (MB.Poor.Female.14yrs)
		Share feelings	N2:Share with each other what they feel N2: It's like expressing what the other felt while the other got in the team and that when she tells the other what she really felt then the other is able to understand and will know what to do. (V.Rich.Female.12yrs)
		Understand the other	N2: Anybody can experience envy My friend felt a lot of envy she told me and I tried to understand her but we learn to forgive because it was a long-time friendship (EH.Rich.Female.14yrs)
	Roadblocks to talk Phenomena that hinder initiation of dialogue or hinder dialogue to develop in an open and trusting mutual exchange (i.e. rejection,	Pride	I: And you admit your mistakes? N5: Well sometimes you admit them sometimes not because one gets ... N5: Sometimes yes sometimes not because sometimes one gets busy with other things and then forget and you are not interested in reflecting yes sometimes is our own pride ... (MB.Poor.Female.14yrs)

	arrogance, fear, dishonesty)	Fear of opening up	N5: Well often fear happens when we do not feel comfortable with that person when we need to talk and the feelings that exist towards that person (V.Rich.Female.12yrs)
		One party doesn't care	N1: He fell while playing soccer and it was an accident he stood up and then he did not want to be my friend and he said it and began to fight with me... So I was going to say something and he would not listen to me (MB.Poor.Male.7yrs)
	Take responsibility Responsibilities of the involved parties to make the dialogue effective for solving the conflict	Demonstrate respect	N1: When talking one has to approach a person decently with good manners they must have a very clear point of view for if they are both offended both should maintain respect when clarifying things as they are. (CS.Middle.Male.12yrs)
		Initiate contact	N4: When Julia get some spare time from the matches and the championships Julia could take a bit of time to talk to Alexandra and Alexandra can try to talk to Julia and you can apologize be friends again and say that they should not fight again because they are best friends since childhood (EH.Rich.Female.10yrs)
		Style and body language	N4: And you stand face to face looking at the person and say I am sorry for doing this and that (AB.CucutaPoor.Female.7yrs)
Forgiveness Resolving a conflict requires asking for forgiveness/ forgiving/ receiving forgiveness, whereby an agreement is reached to close	**Being genuine is important** True forgiveness - given or received - involves deep convictions and transparency	Forgiveness is born in the heart	N4: It's as if they were friends and then forgive again and on and on (fighting) N5: That would not be a true forgiveness but forgiveness would be fake…Because when one asks for forgiveness has to be heartfelt and has to be real N4: it must be a heartfelt forgiveness (F.Poor.Male.N4,N5:7yrs)

the conflict. The friendship may or may not be restored to pre-conflict status.		Admit mistake	N1: ...they meet and look at each other then Juliana who has the basketball then says recognizes his mistake and says to Alexandra forgive me I admit my mistake and I feel sorry if you want we can continue to be friends, forgive me please forgive me and let's be back being friends (V.Rich.Female.7yrs)
	Make things right Forgiveness depends on awareness of who is transgressor and is often associated with awareness of attitude (choice to forget) or behavioural elements conducive of restoring and maintaining the relationship	Commitment to amend	N1: But Alexandra says to Juliana and Juliana will have to answer Alexandra then Alexandra tells Juliana you have to say forgive me friend I will not do it again let us try to be together again and Juliana agrees I forgive you as a real friend and that is also what friendship is about (CS.Poor.Female.8yrs)
		Forget offense	N3: Forget everything that happened before everything that was bad (AB.Poor.Male.8yrs)
		Who asks for forgiveness	N2: Forgiving the mistake the other does to us for example to forgive when she insults me obviously it was a mistake then I forgive her (F.Poor.Female.8yrs)
	Together again Resolution of conflict leads to restoration of relationship with emotional release and relief	Forgiveness restores relationship	N3: So it`s like I reborn again to be reborn as a friend we agree to remain friends forever and I will never fight again (CS.Poor.Male.8yrs)
		Feelings related to forgiveness	N1: [After receiving forgiveness]...Relief means: Express feelings sharing with others feeling emotional and serene no worries nothing to think about life is good and fun (CS.Poor.Female.8yrs)

Friendship A special relationship between peers (usually of the same gender) characterized of shared activities, trust, confiding in each other. In the form of 'close friend' the relationship is strictly exclusive. Duration of relationship ranges from days to years, where unresolved conflicts may end friendship or downgrade 'close friend' status of the other party.	**Assets in friendship** Added value appreciated by the individual through friendship including emotional satisfaction, trust or practical support from friend, which may prevent conflict or modulate conflict dynamics	Support friend	N2: A good friend is that accompany you in good times and in bad they always support and share with you (CAH.Poor.Female.13yrs)
		Prioritise friendship	N1: If I would be Sebastian I would get him (friend) in the team or would make myself be suspended so that he would get in the team (MB.Poor.Male.7yrs)
		Trust	N2: To be yourself with that person based on the trust one might share (V.Rich.Female.12yrs)
		Trivial problem shouldn't separate friends	N3: Well yes so that their friendship does not stop because ... they are friends and to fight for an almost a silly thing such as being chosen for a football team then … (MB.Poor.Male.14yrs)
	Difficulties in Friendship Actions committed by one or both friends, or situations caused by outer factors (i.e. third party) that causes emotional turbulence and may threaten the friendship	Friends are not always together	N3: I think they have to support each other whatever happens and they also have to understand the reality of things that is because they are growing and are entering new stages in life and never never you know if you can share everything with either Juliana or Alexandra and they have to understand that and have a new opportunity. (V.Rich.Female.13yrs)
		Frustration over separation	N1: Well I am surprised that they chose Juliana because they should have chosen the other so that she wouldn't get angry chose the two of them so that she would not get angry and play basketball I didn't like it (MB.Poor.Female.7yrs)

		Mixed feelings	N2: I would be happy and a little resentful resentful because I feel resentful because I could not get in I feel like anger towards me but I also feel sad because couldn`t get in and happy at the same time because my friend got in (CS.Middle.Male.12yrs)
Handling emotions in conflict Strategies to suppress negative emotions and expressions thereof resulting from a disappointment in relation to the friend (i.e. in terms of friend's success). Can be in association with steering emotions towards motivating own improvement. Motivation for handling negative emotions may include general valuing relationship and/or avoiding showing feelings	**Managing defeat** Rational acceptance of friend being better or more successful in an area than oneself, and in some cases even sharing friend's joy	Be happy about friend's abilities	N3: The problem is that both wanted to join the team but not possible two well it was possible but Juliana was chosen because she plays a bit more basketball, then what I understood is that when you have a best friend you do not have to get angry you have to be happy about it and congratulate her (F.Poor.Female.8yrs)
		Accept defeat	N5: I don't know I accept it you win or lose (V.Rich.Female.12yrs)
	Improve myself Letting friend's success or envy thereof motivate efforts to improve the ability in question	I am also good	N4: Well to avoid jealousy, you have to make an effort, if one is jealous we should not get angry rather you have to practice you have to focus more on the football so that you too can play even better than Sebastian instead of fighting and arguing (EH.Rich.Male.9yrs)
		Ask friend to teach me	N1: I would ask him to teach me so that in the future we can enjoy together (CAH.Poor.Male.14yrs)
		Find something else to do	N2: I would look for other options as I said get myself in another sport … (V.Rich.Male.12yrs)
	Restrain frustration Suppression and hiding of frustration and	Don't let the other notice	N1: No that's a lie at least a little bit but one feels envy, but one tries not to show it, and do not let envy go over everything and tell her to teach you (AB.Poor.Female.13yrs)

	other negative emotions	Don't get angry	N2: Anger does not let you not have fun and you do not think (EH.Rich.Male.10yrs)
		Calm down	N2: Dialogue. In moment of anger and envy nobody speaks. Better wait till both are calm. One has to give first step to come near. Perhaps more anger comes up (AB.PoorFemale.14yrs)
Negative emotions in conflict A wide range of emotions experienced of one or both friends that arise from a conflict between them and that may be mutual (i.e. both are envious) or asymmetrical (i.e. one is envious, whereas the other is sad because of the envy felt by the friend)	**Envy** Feelings of frustration because one's friend is more successful than oneself; this may include wishing bad things for friend	Feelings related to envy	I: Let's see let's think for a moment, close your eyes, when I feel envy what do I feel? N1: It`s like anger I: Anger what else? N4: Fight, fury I: fight N4: fight, fury N2: Cursing N3: Hitting N4: Offense I: Hitting when one is envious one thinks in hitting N2: I scratch him N5: Also one sins (F.Poor.Male.N1,N2,N4.7yrs.N3=8yrs)
		Effects of envy on the friendship	N2: Well Alex has rancour for not having made it to the games at school and that is what separates them the envy (CS.Middle.Male.13yrs)
		Wanting revenge	N5: That she wants to be in but she wants the other to go or that something bad happens to Juliana. (F.Poor.Female.10yrs)
	Inferiority Negative emotions and perspectives about oneself caused by unfavourable	Exclusion causes inferiority	N3:Most people don't like to be removed (from team) but prefer to feel equal or better than others (V.Rich.Male.14yrs)

	outcome of an important event or struggles in a relationship	Struggling because the other is better	N2: My friend is good at doing her homework would you like to be like her? N2: Yes I: And you're jealous that she is very good at doing her homework and you don't? N2: No I: What do you feel? N2: Sometimes I get angry (MB.Poor.Female.8yrs)
	Violent anger Verbal or physical acts of violence as a result of fits of rage	Verbal aggression	N1: It was for the same reason because I had won…(he)… said hear me you frog you're stupid you are a crack) (EH.Rich.Male.13yrs)
		Physical aggression	N3: Because when he gets angry gets furious come here do you want to see this? N3: And punches him in the face come friend let's play and he comes and close your eyes ...have it (friend gets punched) (F.Poor.Male.8yrs)
		Try talking - punch otherwise	N1: When a schoolmate is disturbing me I solve the problem by punching him I try to speak but if he doesn't listen then I release my anger punching him he deserved it (MB.Poor.Male.13yrs)